"Double-voicing" In Constructed Dialogue:
Investigating the Function of Japanese in Bilingual Second Generation Japanese American Dialogue

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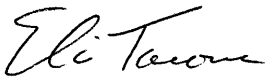

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ABSTRACT

This descriptive study analyzes the sociocultural function of Japanese-English code-switching in an interaction among three Japanese American interlocutors (including the researcher). The data are described from three perspectives: "turns" (Sacks et al, 1974), "topics" (Gumperz 1982), and "double voicing" (Bakhtin 1981). Code-switching among bilinguals has been analyzed by many linguists through syntactic analysis; however, this descriptive study highlights the use of a sociocultural frame for a more functional analysis of Japanese English code-switching in the use of Japanese in "double voicing" in reported speech (Bakhtin 1981). The participants' use of Japanese double-voicing in "constructed dialogue" (Yule 1998) highlights instances in Japanese-English code-switching where Japanese was used to add "drama" to reported speech and to reenact cultural roles as a way to express Japanese American ethnic identities.

INTRODUCTION:

The term "bilingual" has been something that I've been accustomed to (and very proud of) ever since I could remember being able to speak Japanese and English fluently. My sister and I were heritage learners of Japanese – having been able to learn Japanese through our parents at an early age. My Japanese American friends and I would use it freely among each other, and we would often use it as our "secret code" in order to keep ourselves out of trouble or to make ourselves feel special in the presence of others who did not share the same language. We coined a word for this language, "Japinglish", for lack of a better word. My friends and I have been "code-switching", unconsciously creating our own rules and social dynamics with our two languages. It wasn't until much later in my life that I didn't stop and ponder about the how's and why's behind our Japinglish. This special language came naturally to us, but was there any rhyme or reason behind it? Were there any unwritten rules that we were unconsciously following as we spoke Japinglish? Or was it simply random? Was there a particular topic that triggered our use of Japanese? What was our main motivation in using Japanese simultaneously with our English?

The present study emerged from my own curiosities about my heritage language (Japanese) after reading Ortega's (2009) discussion of L1 and L2 linguistic transfer, and how and why a person can acquire a second language. An exposure to Conversation Analysis (CA) through Liddicoat (2011) opened another realm in which I gained the tools to analyze discourse through social interactions.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Over the past three decades, code-switching in discourse has been analyzed through different disciplines ranging from linguistics to education (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Ervin-Tripp, 1964; Azuma, 1997; Myers-Scotton, 2001, 2006; Bullock and Toribio, 2009; Herman, 1961; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013; Qing, 2012; Uys and Van Dulm, 2011; Fennema-Bloom, 2010; Butzkamm,1998; Simon, 2001). Most studies have focused on syntactic constructions, patterns and constraints of code-switching rather than on the pragmatic functions of code-switching (Romaine 1997:121).

Pragmatic Functions of Code-Switching

Blom and Gumperz (1972) is viewed as one of the most influential studies on code-switching and its pragmatic functions (Nilep, 2006; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Bullock and Toribio, 2009; Nishimura, 1993; Su, 2009; Qing, 2012). Blom and Gumperz (1972) concluded that the code-switching between the standard form and the dialect was conditioned by social factors of hierarchy between the two forms. They categorized occurrences of code-switching to occur within two realms: *metaphorical* and *situational* (Blom and Gumperz 1972). The *metaphorical* code-switching refers to the use of two language varieties within a single social setting, whereas *situational* code-switching happens when a linguistic form changes depending on the social setting (Blom and Gumperz 1972). However, Gumperz (1982) merged these two definitions and coined the term, *conversational code switching*, as he realized that it is difficult to discern one from

the other within a conversation. Therefore, Gumperz (1982) suggested that code-switching be seen as an expressive function that has pragmatic meaning, and supported this with a list of six major code-switching functions which include quotation marking, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and personalization and objectivization.

In terms of the quotation marking function, Gumperz (1982:82) cites an example from a study conducted in Papua New Guinea where a young girl was asked to immediately recall a non-verbal cartoon after watching it. As the girl reiterated the story in Tok Pisin, she is quoted as saying, *"Lapun man ia kam na tok, 'oh yu poor pusiket', na em go insait"* – 'The old man came and said, 'Oh you poor pussycat', and then he went inside'. "The old man" in the cartoon that the girl refers to is white, and therefore, Gumperz explains that her description of him saying "Oh you poor pussycat" in English is fitting since, culturally speaking, the man would not know any Tok Pisin since the setting is not Papua New Guinean. The girl's code switch, therefore, displays her cultural understanding of the white male in the case of this cartoon.

In addressee specification, code-switching is used to address a specific person, usually to signal to that person that he/she is invited to be involved in the interaction. For example, Gumperz (1982:77) gives an example from an Austrian village where the speakers, who are bilingual in Slovenian and German, code-switch to address someone outside of the interaction, symbolically inviting them to join or add more to the ongoing conversation.

Examples of the code-switching function of interjection include tags, fillers, and discourse markers, which Gumperz (1982:77) cites with this example of an interaction between two Chicano professionals:

A: "*Well, I'm glad to meet you".*
B: "*Andale pues* [OK swell] *and do come again. Mm?*

The code-switch is marked by Person B's interjection of Spanish at the beginning of his response.

The reiteration function of code-switching is used to clarify or emphasize a message, or to further qualify a topic in the other language . Gumperz (1982:79) quotes from a Spanish/English conversation, "*We've got…all these kids here right now. Los que estan y criados aqui, no los que estan recien venidos de Mexico* [those that have been born here, not the ones that have just arrived from Mexico]. *They all understood English*." The switch to Spanish is made when the speaker wanted to clarify the topic about children, then switched again to English towards the end to further elaborate (Gumperz 1982). The message (*"…all these kids here…")* is enhanced through the additional information in Spanish that followed, highlighting different aspects about "the kids" in this short utterance.

Lastly, one code can be used to "personalize" and the other to "objectify" a topic within a conversation. Gumperz (1982:81) cites an example,

A: *…I'd smoke the rest of the pack myself in the other two weeks.*
B: *That's all you smoke.*
A: *That's all I smoked*.
B: *And how about now*?
A: *Estos…me los halle…estos Pall Malls me los hallaron* [these…I found these Pall Malls…these were found for me]. *No I mean that's all the cigarettes...that's all. They're the ones I buy.*

For Person A, the English utterances focus on her problem (the "objectified", and hence, more "distant") compared to the Spanish utterances which focus on her acting out her problem (making this more "personalized") (Gumperz 1982). Romaine (1995:164) summarizes Gumperz' (1982:80) contrast between the "personalized" and the "objectified" by describing how it "relates to things such as the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact".

Gumperz categorizes these six code-switching functions as part of several contextualization cues, which are "the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood, and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (1982:131). Gumperz' framework is useful in analyzing pragmatic functions of code-switching, as it allows researchers to create meaning out of the linguistic data set forth from each turn.

"Topic" as a domain for code-switching

A variationist perspective could take Gumperz' six categories for code-switching a step further and consider the variety of social contexts in which the second language learner uses his/her two languages (Tarone and Liu 1995: 108). For the variationist, "it is important for any second language acquisition theory to describe and explain why it is that interlanguage performance varies systematically from one social context to another, and to relate this variation in performance to the development of the learner's knowledge" (Tarone and Liu 1995:108). Therefore, linguistic forms should not be separated from the communicative function they are related to within discourse (Tarone and Liu, 1995:108).

These domains of social context include (but are not limited to) family, friendship, religion, education, employment, field of discourse, and topic of conversation (Preston 1989). The variationist proposes that through the influences of both the linguistic and social environments, the individual makes their language choice (Preston 1989:38).

One of these domains of social context, "topic", is defined as "what is being talked about" (Preston 1989:135). However, the boundaries that form a topic, or how we decide what a topic is and isn't within a said discourse could be arguable due to its non-static nature (Preston 1989:38). Despite the vagueness in what constitutes a topic within discourse, it is considered one of the most important aspects within discourse organization as its function is to divide discourse into different units (Preston 1989: 38).

Broner (2001) utilized topic (or "task-content") as one of her domains within the academics of one Spanish immersion school. She recorded three Spanish-English students (Carolina, Mervin, and Leonard) at a Spanish immersion elementary school in St. Paul. Broner tape-recorded these students over fifteen separate sessions across five months inside of their classrooms. Each student was given a lapel microphone and recorded continuously during the class period. Broner sat in a contiguous room, where she could listen to the recordings as they were being taped. Each recording was three hours at length, and conducted once a week (2001:33).

Based on Guy's (1988) natural categories, Broner separated the task-content data into two categories: contents where the goal was language related (creative writing and reading), and those that were not (math, science, social studies, and arts and crafts) (2001:85). Her VARBRUL analysis of the three students showed that students used significantly more Spanish in language related task-contents (such as creative writing)

than in non-language related contents (such as math and science). The task-content for each school subject viewed as a domain was one of the social factors that correlated with L2 usage within the classroom.

Her study goes against what is said in common literature, which claims that language use within the classroom can be categorized just between the "academic" and "social" realms (Broner 2001: 135; Heitzman 1993). For example, Heitzman (1993) observed that "Spanish was used for task-oriented activities (especially teacher-fronted situations) while English was used in both task-oriented and social functions (although there were only five instances of social functions recorded)". However, compared to Heitzman's analysis, Broner concluded that "*the content of the task* affects L2 and L1 use in the classroom" (emphasis included)(2001:125). By analyzing the production of the L2 in relation to the topic being discussed, Broner concludes that the academic category suggested by Heitzman is not precise enough to explain the production of the L2 within the classroom, but that academic topics were more precisely related to the frequency of the students' L2 production.

"Ethnicity" as a domain

Ethnic identity can also be considered a sociolinguistic domain. Among people who share the same ethnicity, there can be a "language choice situation", where the chosen language is part of the shared identity of a group (Giles 1979). A person's language choice could reflect whether they feel others are part of their "in group", and function as a determiner of the closeness one feels towards their own or other ethnicities (Giles 1979). It's interesting that language choice may function to signal ethnic identity

even when speakers are not very proficient in the language; among French-speaking Canadian responses to French and English, some minority language (French) speakers preferred to use their own variety for solidarity (despite their own lack of competence in French) (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian 1982). However, some minority and majority language speakers strongly preferred that their speakers be proficient in the same language to be considered as part of the "in group" (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian 1982). Therefore, the level of closeness one has with the "in group" is unrelated to his/her language fluency or lack there of.

Code-switching among Japanese Americans

Ervin-Tripp's (1964) study on Japanese-English code-switching was one of the first for these languages. The subjects of the study were Japanese-born women who, through marrying into American families, became bilingual in English (Ervin-Tripp 1964). In her study, Ervin-Tripp (1964) looked at three pragmatic variables that related to their use of Japanese and English: topic, listener, and language. After having the Japanese women interviewed by either an American or Japanese interviewer, Ervin-Tripp concluded that "it was not the receiver alone, nor the topic alone, which affected speech but a specific combination of the two" (1964: 97). Her study made an important observation that a bilingual's performance could be impaired where testing contexts violated the normal setting where Japanese is used to speak about Japanese topics to Japanese interlocutors (Ervin-Tripp 1964).

Others, such as Azuma (1997), conducted more syntactic analysis among Japanese natives' code-switching. He analyzed his data obtained in Japan on native

Japanese students who recently returned from America as well as from a disc jockey of a local Japanese radio station that aired American pop music (1997:2-3). With the code-switching data that he obtained, Azuma sought to answer what the shared lexical feature was among code-switched units (1997: 17).

Nishimura's study was one of the few that has extensive research and combined analysis on code-switching pragmatics and syntax in the use of Japanese and English by children of immigrants (Nishimura 1995, 1997). Her research focused on Canadian second generation adults (Nisei's), who were born and raised in Toronto, Ontario, went through the Japanese internment camps during the 1940's, and settled back in Toronto afterwards. She applied Gumperz' (1982) six categories of code-switching functions to examine code-switching among Japanese Canadian interlocutors (Nishimura 1997:35). She adopted Fishman's (1965) approach to sociolinguistics, asking: "who speaks what language to whom under what situation?" Her goal was to merge the fields of sociolinguistics and syntax in order to come with a more holistic analysis of code-switching in her data (Nishimura 1997: 37).

When the interview was conducted, her five interlocutors were in their late 60's and 70's. Three of the interlocutors were close friends of the other two interlocutors. Nishimura was a family member of one of the interlocutors, but as a Japanese citizen, she was not part of their Japanese Canadian community (Nishimura 1997:49). She recorded a total of five interactions with different sets of people within the five interlocutors. The recorded conversations ranged from ninety minutes to two and a half hours long. Her interviews were primarily about the Japanese Canadians' experiences; Nishimura would present a question and the interlocutors would answer (Nishimura 1997:52-53).

Nishimura divided her data set into three categories: "the basically Japanese variety", "the basically English variety", and the "mixed variety" by determining which language is at the "base" of each turn (1997:83). After categorizing this discourse into these three varieties, Nishimura dissected the turns for each variety syntactically, focusing on discourse markers, nouns, interjections, adverbs, and other syntactic categories (1997: 87-111). She also analyzed these three varieties by their functions in terms of their syntax (discourse markers, nouns, sentence-final particles, etc), organization (frame-marking, topic introduction), and stylistic effects (1997: 132-158). Through a synthesis of syntactic and functional analysis of Japanese and English code-switching (with more of an emphasis on syntactic analysis), Nishimura sought to discover who code-switches, with whom they code-switched, and what types of code-switching occurred in which situations among the interlocutors (1997:35).

The "Basically Japanese" and "Basically English" variety

Nishimura's functional analysis of the "basically Japanese variety" found that where lexical variation occurred, English nouns were used to replace Japanese words which the speaker did not know (1997:156). For example, when a Nisei interlocutor spoke with a Japanese native who understood English, their main language was Japanese, peppered with English nouns "customarily used in the community" and also whenever they couldn't produce a word in Japanese ("borrowing") (Nishimura 1997:157).

In the "basically English variety", "the sporadic use of Japanese phrases and sentences symbolizes the speaker's identity as a Nisei" (1997:156). When the Niseis spoke with each other, they chose to speak in English, but expressed "their common

ethnic and generational identity by interspersing Japanese in their otherwise English speech", therefore, the use of Japanese was a symbolic expression of their ethnicity (Nishimura 1997:157). In this case, the minority language (Japanese) is acting as the social "glue" among the Canadian Niseis, perpetuating an indirect signal for the interlocutors that they are part of the Nisei "in group" (Ryan, Giles, Sebastian 1982).

The "Mixed" Variety

When speaking with a combined group of a native Japanese and Niseis or when a kika-Nisei (a person born in Canada, but who had received education in Japan) was within the group, the "mixed variety" came into play more frequently (Nishimura 1995: 166). Nishimura took the "mixed variety" discourse and dissected it further by classifying the discourse into the following categories: "those related to the interactional process between the speaker and the hearer; those related to the organization or structure of discourse; those which give stylistic effects; and functionally neutral switching" (Nishimura 1995: 166, 1997:131).

In the case described above, Nishimura noticed that the Nisei interlocutors would often use the "mixed variety" to get their point across to both parties (1997:141). She called these sentences, "portmanteau", which is a combination of an English sentence and a Japanese sentence which use a commonly-shared constituent (1997:139). For example, Sean, one of the Nisei interlocutors, said to the Japanese speakers, "It was about five dollars a pound *gurai yo*", producing a portmanteau sentence. Immediately afterwards, he repeated the same sentence to the Nisei speakers, saying "We bought about two pounds".

Nishimura explains that Sean does this switch and creates portmanteau sentences in order to connect with the Niseis and the Japanese interlocutors within his group (1997:141).

The "mixed variety" was also used to create stylistic effects, which made the discourse livelier and personal as Japanese was used to quote Japanese people mentioned in the discourse. For example:

Geoff: It's only after about five years now. *Yamashita-san no Kiyoshi-san,* it's time to understand the Canadian way of speaking the English language. Cause he said, "*Ima made, anoo, kiitemo wakaranakatta" chuuno.* Now he says, "*Kiite wakaru yoo ni natta".* So, his ear are now tuned to the language, you know.

In this case, Geoff switches to Japanese when he describes what his old friend, *Yamashita-san no Kiyoshi-san* (Mr. Kiyoshi Yamashita) had said in the past. As Geoff remembers this Japanese man, he also recalls how he spoke, reenacting their conversation in Japanese. The code-switch functioned to highlight these quotations in Japanese as Geoff recounted his conversation (1997:154).

Such examples as the above are found often in conversation as people recount stories and role-play certain people. Bakhtin (1981) uses the term "double –voicing" to refer to these sorts of events when someone speaks in a different language as he/she plays the role of another person.

> "(The word in language) becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention…it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word and make it one's own."
>
> (Bakhtin 1981: 288-9)

Many decades later, Yule (1998) observed a similar phenomena and called it "constructed dialogue". This kind of event can also be described as "constructed

dialogue". Yule (1998:282) describes quotatives as the linguistic expressions such as "he said", "she was like", and "he went", which are used by speakers to signal and frame reported speech, words previously produced by others. Quotatives frame reported speech that may or may not resemble an objective reproduction of past speech. Yule proposes the term constructed dialogue to refer to a highly personalized and creative recreation of the speech of others based on the speaker's interpretation.

Yule's notion of reported speech that is constructed dialogue is related to Bakhtin's construct of polyphony, which is defined by Park-Fuller (1986:2) as "a collective quality of individual utterance" . Polyphony has more to do with an individual's opinion or thought about the voice they're reconstructing (not so much the social constructs around the voice). It is closely related to "double-voicing", where there are two dialogues simultaneously occurring in one utterance: for example, when a person mimics the speech pattern of an admired person or quotes another person's speech with that person's opinions in mind (Bakhtin 1981). Polyphonies could also be used to mock someone and create distance from (instead of relating to) a particular person (Bakhtin 1981). For example, in Broner and Tarone's (1999) study, two students, Caroline (C) and Leonard (L), "double-voice" when they recreate and reconstruct their classmate, Brandon's, voice:

C: *Él estaba en el computador hizó 'mira como este'* and and and
(He was on the computer, he did "look at this" and and and)

L: ...I was like 'Brandon?' and he's *'no es mi culpa que uso mi dedo*
(it's not my fault I use my middle finger

medio para mí'
for myself)

Caroline and Leonard are talking about a situation where Brandon made an obscene gesture. Using the quotatives, "hizo", "I was like", and "he's", they report Brandon's speech, and as they do, they also act out his voice and gesture. Both Caroline and Leonard are using their voices to reenact the voice of Brandon, therefore, "double-voicing".

"Frame-marking"

Nishimura's interlocutors used code-switching without quotatives (Yule 1998), which also occur in monolingual discourse, to create "frames" within the conversation with discourse markers (*well, ok, y'know*) and language switches to initiate and terminate a frame. According to Goffman (1974), a frame refers to an activity or event that is recognized by those within an "in-group" which are structured by a set of rules shared by the group . In her study, Nishimura observed that a language switch during the conversation usually initiated or terminated a frame (1997:145-146). For example:

1	Violet:	*Dakedo, ima de mo atsui no yo*.
2	Midori:	Yeah, I now
3	Violet:	I*made mo atsui no yo*.
4	Midori:	See, we were gonna go down to Philadelphia, eh? *Mainichi*,
5	Miwa:	*Matteta n da kara*
6	Midori:	*Denwa kakeru desho*, "How's the weather down there?"

Midori interjects Violet's conversation in line 4 with a new topic about going down to Philadelphia, which is done through a language shift to English. Nishimura explains that Midori's switch to English was the interlocutor's way of terminating the frame as well as

her way of taking the floor (1997:146). English was often the majority language the interlocutors used to switch topics among the Nisei interlocutors in Nishimura's data.

From the readings, three analytical categories seem promising for the purpose of my study: the amount of code-switching that occurs per turn, the relationship between code-switching and topics of discourse, including objectified vs. personalized topics, and the use of the two languages in reported speech, with and without quotatives, in double voicing (Preston 1989, Broner 2001).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

1. Do the interlocutors produce code switches in "mostly English", "mostly Japanese", or "balanced" turns?
2. Are there any patterns in the interlocutors' use of Japanese and English related to "topic", including "objectified" and "personalized" topics?
3. Can code-switching in reported speech be understood as "double-voicing", in Bakhtin's sense[1]?

METHODOLOGY:

In answering these questions, I will describe our code-switching not so much at the level of the syntax of Japanese and English within our conversation, as at the level of the social and pragmatic functions of code-switching by my friends (and myself). I will use the conversation analysis construct of 'turn' to examine social and contextual factors related to our taking of turns that were mostly Japanese, mostly English or a mix of both

[1] In "Bakhtin's sense", I mean representing the "voice" of a teacher, mother, care-giver, older sister, child, etc.

(balanced). As I transcribed and analyzed the conversation that I participated in and recorded with two of my Japanese American friends, I particularly focused on how my friends chose to use Japanese in their conversation since English is their most dominant language. As the "third wheel" in the conversation, I was also able to look into how my own use of Japanese and why I did so as I conversed with my friends. A follow-up interview with my friends was to further investigate what the functions of code-switching were in their conversation.

Description of Participants

The two friends, Simona and Sherry, that I interviewed are sisters who are both second generation Japanese Americans. I chose these two based on the closeness and the length of history that we share as family friends. My family and theirs have known each other for over thirty years, ever since my parents set foot in Southern California back in 1976. Sherry and Simona's parents moved to the United States from Japan in their early twenties, and settled in West Los Angeles in 1973, where there were pockets of Japanese American communities dispersed throughout Venice, Santa Monica, Inglewood, and Culver City. When my parents arrived in Los Angeles, they were referred by their Japanese American landlord to Sherry and Simona's mother, who was then working at a Japanese bank. Our mothers met at the bank in 1976, befriended one another, and have been very close friends since. As Sherry, Simona, my older sister, and I were born, our families spent increasingly more time together and even enrolled us in the same schools. Parents in both families were very involved with the Japanese American community through our enrollment in the West Los Angeles community basketball team and

weekend Japanese school (*Asahi Gakuen)* as well as other indirect Japanese American avenues of socializing such as enrolling us in *Kumon* (a Japan-based cram school) and piano lessons. Due to the close relationship of our parents, and our participation in these and other activities, my siblings and I shared many fond memories with Sherry and Simona over the years.

Starting from their elementary years, Simona and Sherry also visited Japan multiple times during the summer or winter seasons. Each time they visited, they would stay with their relatives in Tokyo and/or meet up with their Japanese American friends who were also visiting Japan at the same time. Our families would sometimes meet on a few occasions as well. Simona and Sherry would attend and participate in traditional Japanese festivals, such as the *obon* (Buddhist summer festivals), visit Kyoto and Nara City to "experience the Japanese Culture", and immerse in the *onsen* (traditional hot springs). During the winter, Simona recalled experiencing the "Japanese Christmas" where families make a special order from Kentucky Fried Chicken and pass Christmas Eve singing Christmas Carols. They would also spend their time at the karaoke joint, singing the latest top hits in Japanese pop music and from their favorite Japanese boy bands. During their stay in Japan, Simona said her Japanese became "more fluid" as the time passed, and that she "felt more confident" by the end of their stay. Sherry would speak in Japanese more with her family members, but spoke mixed Japanese and English with her friends and the younger generation. Simona and Sherry both continued to visit Japan frequently through their college years.

With their heritage and background in mind, I sought out Simona and Sherry in order to interview them for my research. I knew from our past conversations and

interactions that we have had plenty of moments where we code-switched between Japanese and English within our conversation. As we grew older, the code-switching became a very special "code" for us as we continued our relationship. Since I needed speech data from Japanese American heritage language speakers for my research, I chose Sherry and Simona as my interlocutors because of our familiarity and rapport that was already pre-set due to our family's history and also because of the similarity in our Japanese American heritage, which I will describe more in detail below.

Myself

I am 31 years old, and the second of four sisters in my family. My parents came to the United States back in 1976. I was born and raised in Southern California. My first language was Japanese, as that was the main language spoken between my parents. I started to speak and understand English when my older sister, Sherry, and Simona started to speak English as they began pre-school. English became the more dominant language as I entered pre-school[2]. However, on Saturdays, I would go to a nearby Japanese school (*Asahi Gakuen*) from 9AM until 3:15PM. I attended this school from the first grade until the eleventh grade. Instruction at *Asahi Gakuen* was completely in Japanese taught by native Japanese teachers. I performed above average compared to my classmates, and was often placed in the "higher level" group which focused on Japanese classic texts. Weekly homework and projects were mandatory for those who attended *Asahi Gakuen*,

[2] Although I learned Japanese first, and then English second, I do not consider English as my "L2". I consider it more dominant than my Japanese, but I refrain from calling it my "L1". I would like to take Montrul's definition of a "heritage speaker", where she defines such a person who has "very advanced or even nativelike proficiency in the two languages…(but) the home language is the weaker language" (2010: 5).

and were based off of a curriculum that has been modeled after the public school system in Japan. Along with *Asahi Gakuen*, my mother enrolled me in *Kumon*, an after-school learning program, from the first grade up until the fifth grade. Once a week at *Kumon*, I learned higher levels of math and Japanese. For math, the content and drills were often two grades higher than what I was currently learning. For Japanese, I was also learning *kanji* (Chinese characters) and grammar that were at least one or two grades above my current grade. We were given worksheets as part of our homework for the week, which my mother would correct at home.

Since my extended family all reside in Japan, we made annual trips between my first grade and eight grade years to Japan to visit our grandparents and cousins. My sisters and I would usually stay at my cousin's house from the end of June to the beginning of August. Starting with my fourth grade year, my sisters and I attended school with our cousins as the Japanese school system was still in session until mid-July. I was simply observing the classes during this time that I attended the Japanese school as the subjects were often too late into the semester for me to catch up with. I have fond memories of making Japanese friends, eating the school hot lunches, and participating in school camping trips during the times I attended the school.

I left for Northern California to attend college, which was the first time away from my Japanese community. In college, I had very little contact with Japanese or the Japanese American community as the church that I joined and the friends that I made were primarily non-Japanese. I would call home occasionally to keep in touch with my parents, which would be the only time that I would speak any Japanese. After graduating college, I landed a job at a software company in the Bay Area, where my position

required me to use my Japanese language skills extensively. I was frequently communicating by verbal and written communication to our team in Tokyo, and was reading Japanese documents every day as part of my job. However, I quit this job after two and a half years to move to Taiwan for a year. Since then, I have not held another job that involved my Japanese language skills to that extent. Since coming back from Taiwan, I have married into a Hmong family and moved to Minnesota. In Minnesota, I was able to attend the University of Minnesota where I am currently receiving my Masters in Teaching English as a Second Language, as well as working on the campus as an adjunct ESL teacher to primarily Saudi Arabian students. I also attend and serve at a church nearby where the congregation is comprised mostly of Chinese and Korean Americans. Therefore, my connection with the Japanese community has become more distant and almost non-existent as I moved away from California.

Simona and Sherry

Simona is 31 years old, and the younger of the two siblings. Sherry is 33 years old. Simona and Sherry learned Japanese as their first language through their parents. But, as Simona and Sherry started pre-school at a local private school in California, English became their more dominant language. Simultaneously with attendance at their American school, Simona and Sherry both attended *Asahi Gakuen* between the first and the eighth grade. There, they learned the Japanese language in a more structured and academic manner that followed the educational curriculum modeled after the public school system in Japan. Every Saturday was spent at *Asahi Gakuen* from 9am until 3:15pm. The Japanese school also offered cultural lessons, where their students were able to

participate and learn about major Japanese holidays and events such as the Fall Sports Festival (*undoukai*), speech contests, and Girl's Day (*hinamatsuri*). Their performance in *Asahi Gakuen* was average, and according to Simona, they were placed in the "lower level" classes that focused more on the Japanese language than other areas of study (interview dated 2.24.13). They stopped going to *Asahi Gakuen* from the eighth grade and did not pursue any formal Japanese education during their high school year. During their elementary school, Sherry and Simona also attended *Kumon* once a week for a couple of years. Similar to my experience, they also took lessons in math and Japanese. In college, Simona and Sherry were involved in different clubs and activities on campus. Sherry was active in the Taiko Club (Japanese drumming) at her college for three years. After graduating college, Sherry spent one year in Japan, teaching English to elementary school children in a rural district in the town of Tomisato in the Chiba Prefecture. She mentioned that at first she did not speak much Japanese, but as the year progressed she found herself able to speak more Japanese with those around her. Sherry has since returned and is currently working for a Japanese car industry in Southern California. On the other hand, Simona did not join any Asian American clubs during her college years. Instead, she joined a business fraternity. After graduating, Simona was employed in Southern California at a bank owned by a Japanese company, and is still employed as a bank accountant. They are currently residing in Southern California. According to the interview on February 24th, Simona speaks Japanese on a daily basis at her bank, and Sherry speaks mostly Japanese with her Japanese American friends. They also speak Japanese to their parents who they keep in touch with frequently.

DATA COLLECTION:

Ideally, it would have been best if I could have been in the same room with Simona and Sherry as I conducted and participated in the interview. However, due to time constraints and travel costs (from Minnesota to Southern California), I was unable to engage with them in face to face interaction, and resorted to online video conferencing as my second option. I scheduled a time where I could record both of them in the same room. On February 24th, I was able to record and have a one-hour conversation with my friends via Google Hangout. I recorded both an audio and a visual of the conversation. For the audio recording, I used "Audacity" while Simona and Sherry used their Mac's "Garage Band" to record their end of the conversation. For the visual recording, I used "Screenflow" to capture the video footage of the conversation we had. Simona and Sherry did not record any video footage from their end. We all recorded the conversation at our respective apartments. The interview was carried out in both Japanese and English.

As I started the recording, I first explained why I was recording them, being careful not to reveal the fact that I was interested in their usage of Japanese and English in their speech. I explained that I needed to interview them regarding their experiences as Japanese Americans, some of their shared experiences with our families, and their thoughts about their Japanese American identity. In the interview, I asked Sherry and Simona these questions:

- What are your fondest memories of *Asahi Gakuen*?
- Who were your favorite teachers in *Asahi Gakuen*?
- What were your fondest memories about the things that my family and yours (Sherry and Simona's family) did together in the past?

- Were you scared of my mother?
- For Sherry, what was her experience like in Japan through the JET (the Japanese Exchange and Teaching) program?
- What were your memories about the New Years?
- Could you expand about what happened to your dad during your high school years?
- How would you identify yourself in terms of being Japanese American? How strongly do you identify yourself with being Japanese? With being American?
- When do you use your Japanese the most right now?

I also e-mailed Simona and Sherry a few follow-up questions after the interview, which were as follows:

(For both Simona and Sherry)

- "What year did your parents came to live in America (when did they immigrate)? How did they settle down in LA (job, friends, church?)"
- "How long were you in Kumon?"
- "When you went to visit Japan (summers/winter), what did you do there (for the most part)? Who did you interact with/visit? How much Japanese did you guys use while you were in Japan, and with whom?"

(For Simona)

- " Were you involved in any Japanese American/Asian clubs @ UCI? For how long?" "You mentioned that you relate the most with your Nisei clients at Union Bank, but how would you identify yourself in terms of being Japanese or American? Does your identity shift depending on where you are/who you're with?"

(For Sherry)

- “How long were you doing Taiko for? Did you speak more Japanese than English while you were in Chiba for your JET program?”
- “You mentioned that at work, you're Japanese because of the way you "enryo" when it comes to speaking your mind. But, would you say you're more "American" in other environments/other people?”

My aim was to ask them questions that would invoke answers and content that invited expression of their Japanese identity and specific experiences within their Japanese heritage (Nishimura 1997, Myers-Scotton 1993). I also included a question regarding a very difficult and sensitive time period for Sherry and Simona’s family. From what I had recalled from a testimony that Sherry had shared during a high school retreat I participated in, I knew that Sherry’s father went through a stage of depression during her and Simona’s high school years. Even from the little that Sherry had shared with us during my high school retreat, I remember that she had very strong emotions towards it and that she had difficulty adjusting to her father’s mental condition. I wanted to observe which language Sherry and Simona would be most dominant in as they recounted that time period in her life, and to compare that with other topics of discussion that were less sensitive.

Role of the Researcher

I consider myself a true Japanese American. Although my citizenship is in America, I have very strong connections and fondness for my Japanese heritage as I grew up under the guidance of very “Japanese” parents. A large part of my identity comes from

the fact that I could speak and understand the Japanese language. It allowed for me to have access to Japanese media and cultural realms, which expanded my understanding of my heritage. As those who shared similar experiences as I, I included the question towards the end of the interview regarding how Sherry and Simona relate to their Japanese American identity specifically through their language use.

Throughout the interview, I actively participated in the conversation I was recording to make it a more "natural" conversation and minimize Labov's "Observer's Paradox" (1972:209). Since I am a bilingual Japanese-English speaker as well, I also placed myself into the conversation to record and track my own code-switching patterns as I engaged in the three-way conversation. I placed myself before the camera on my laptop and was visible and audible to my interlocutors during the entire one hour conversation with Sherry and Simona. Although I was conscious about the objectives behind this interview, nonetheless, I believe my utterances were produced as naturally as I would have in any normal conversation with my Japanese American friends and family members. The conversation started with my initiating topics of conversation and/or questions regarding our families' past, personal experiences in Japan, and other Japanese-related topics. Other topics would come up naturally as tangents to the questions that were answered, which I allowed to develop naturally throughout the one hour recording. I freely commented and expanded on topics as I listened to Sherry and Simona's responses to my questions throughout the interview.

DATA ANALYSIS:

Transcription

During the recording, there were some sections that were inaudible due to overlaps in the conversation. Since the recording from my computer recorded my voice the clearest, I found that my voice often drowned out the incoming recording of my interlocutors. Therefore, some of their first utterances or responses during our conversation were lost due to my overlaps. In order to counteract this, I attempted to obtain a copy of the simultaneous recording done on my interlocutor's computer, but my interlocutors were unable to convert and download the file that could be sent to me electronically. Thus, I had transcribed the data with only my audio recording.

Once the recording was finished, I transcribed the data using the transcription system developed by Gail Jefferson (1985, 2004), who applied earlier works by Sacks et al (1974). The following are the conventions I used in my transcription.

Symbols:

1	-- <inaudible>	unintelligible
2	-- (*italics*)	Japanese
3	-- (...)	Silence/pause
4	-- !	Exclamation
5	-- ?	Rising intonation
6	-- .	Falling intonation
7	-- CAPS	Loud or emphasized word
8	SH --- =	Utterance was interrupted, but immediately
	SH = ---	continues after the concurrent "="

I have adopted the line numbering convention of Conversation Analysis, where the numbers on the left hand side of the transcription signify lines – **not** turns. In addition, I've added an outer column that marks turns in my transcription.

My transcription was rather simple in that I focused primarily on the use of Japanese and English within each turn by the interlocutors. Overlaps were not taken into account, and pauses and silences were not taken into account (unless they were notably long) as these nuances do not pertain to the subject of this research.

"Turns"

I have applied Sacks, et al.'s (1974:704) theory of turn-taking for my transcription, setting out each line of the transcript as a turn where (in Sacks et al's (1974) words):
"1) at any transition relevance place (TRP) of an initial turn-constructional unit (TCU):
a) if the turn-so-far uses a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the selected person has the right and obligation to take the next turn to speak, no other speaker has such rights or obligations.
b) if the turn-so-far is not constructed to select a next speaker, then self-selection may, but need not occur. The first participant to begin speaking acquires the right to a turn;
c) if the turn-so-far is not constructed to select a next speaker, the current speaker may but need not continue if no other speaker self-selects.
2) if the current speaker continues after the initial TCU, these rules apply again at the next TRP, and at each subsequent TRP until speaker change occurs. "

If laughter was the only utterance for an interlocutor, I did not consider that as a "turn". According to Schegloff (1982), when there is laughter between or during turns,

there is no clear distinction of who the current speaker is, and therefore, is not an act which claims the floor. Any "continuers" and "back channels" (*yes, mm hm, uh huh, right, okay*) that occurred during an extended talk were also not considered as a "turn" (Schegloff 1982). I defined a back channel using the following criteria in the words of Ward and Tsukahara (2000:1182) who summarized many points brought up by Schegloff (1982):

"Back channel feedback:

(D1) responds directly to the content of an utterance of the other,

(D2) is optional and,

(D3) does not require acknowledgement by the other.

Back channels do *not* include the following: requests for clarification (*huh?),* responses to questions, and questions (Schegloff 1982). For example, in the following segment

Example 1	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	508	SH: Julie has a picture when she got married =
		509	CV: oh.
	2	510	SH: = so. My dad took one of the pictures. So it's at their apartment
		511	right now.
	3	512	CV: oh *hontoni?* (really?)
	4	513	SH: *uhn*. *Minna ha ga nakatta ha ga*. (yah. Everyone didn't have any teeth.)

Line 508 and 510 were counted as one turn since I categorized line 509 as a back-channel. However, line 512 was counted as a turn since it acts as a question and Sherry responds to it in line 513.

To answer Research Question One, I counted the total number of turns in the conversation, and the percentage of those turns that I classified as "mostly Japanese",

"mostly English" or "balanced"[3]. Back channels, laughs, and inaudible discourse were not counted as a turn.

In a "mostly Japanese" turn, the turn was mainly in Japanese with longer Japanese utterances. In other words, there was a relatively larger ratio of Japanese words to English words.

Example 2	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	257	SH: *Kyoukasho dewa nai mono o chanto oshiete kureta sensei kana.* (I think he was a teacher who taught us things that weren't in the textbook)
		258	CV: aaah.
	2	259	SH: yah.
	3	260	CV: *tatoeba. tatoeba.* (For example. For example.)
	4	261	SH: *uuuun*. *Nandaro*. Like *reigi toka. Chanto asa no aisatsu o* (uhhm. What is it) (like manners. We must do our morning
		262	*shinkucha ikenai.* greetings.)
	5	263	CV: *uun…reigi!*..ahh. (oh…manners!)
	6	264	SH: *darekaga shabbete chanto me to mukatte kiki nasai mitai na*. (Like, when someone is talking to you, look at them in the eye and listen to them)

In this set of turns in Example 2, Sherry and I are speaking mostly in Japanese. Sherry is responding to a question, "Who was her favorite teacher in *Asahi Gakuen?*" She then continues to explain that her favorite teacher (Mr. Yonekawa) taught the class things

[3] I chose not to use Nishimura's constructs of the "basically Japanese", "basically English" and "mixed variety" because I did not follow her syntactic methodology which she developed these terms by. The focus of my research is to decipher the function of code-switches, not so much the syntactic.

that were not in the textbooks such as manners, proper greetings, and respecting the elders (lines 257, 261, 264). Japanese became the medium as Sherry described Mr. Yonekawa and I responded with clarification questions and back-channels in Japanese. The Japanese spoken in this dialogue are also in longer utterances, and our responses are mostly in Japanese. I categorized such sections of the interview as "mostly Japanese".

If there were turns that were primarily in English with very few Japanese utterances (such as finals and back-channeling), I considered these as "mostly English" turns. In other words, there was a relatively larger ratio of English words to Japanese word. In fact, in the "mostly English" turns, Japanese only seemed to appear in isolated loan words.

Example 3	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	1185	SI: <inaudible> old pictures of them. like. When they first came
		1186	here. *Wakai toki wa*. Twenty-five, six *gurai.* (When they were young) (about)
		1187	CV: wow, yah?
	2	1188	SI: Or like in their early-before they had us.
		1189	CV: uh-huh.
	3	1190	SI: And so, back then it seemed like. They're-, not ideal, not ideal
		1191	couple, but *nandarou.* They had a lot of fun in terms of (what is it)
		1192	traveling. America *ni kite*. Like. They joined the, the church? (came to)
		1193	CV: Oh they did?
	4	1194	SI: They met this church. So my dad went to church at one point.

Japanese is present in this set of turns in Example 3, but they are limited to shorter utterances of approximations such as *nandarou* and *gurai,* which serve as fillers (English equivalent of "like") in this conversation. Simona and I both use some Japanese in this segment, but since there are more English words I categorized these turns as "mostly English".

In Example 4, Sherry and Simona are describing the "special class" that they were assigned to during their time in *Asahi Gakuen*. Simona uses the most Japanese in this section.

Example 4	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	173	SI: but uhm *yonensei gurai ni* they split the classes from like the (about fourth grade)
		174	*chuuzai no ko* but *yoku dekiru ko to*. like kids that had that (Japanese natives in America) (the ones who do well)
		175	needed more attention. You know be- and mo most of the kids
		176	were know. born here.
		177	CV: *un* (yah)
	2	178	SI: *nanka*. For our class there was a big really big gap of (like)
		179	CV: ooh.
	3	180	SI: *..suggoi dekiru ko to. ato* s- the people that fell really really (..the ones who do really well. Also)
		181	behind. *Yonensei gurai*. They split the class. (about fourth grade)
		182	CV: *soudatta*. Oohn. (was that so?)

Simona's explanation of the "special class" in Example 4 is peppered with Japanese loan words in lines 173 and 174 such as *yonensei* (fourth grade), and *chuuzai* (Japanese natives who are living in America). She also uses Japanese to describe the type of students in the two different levels in line 174 and 180; *yoku dekiru ko/suggoi dekiru ko* (the kids who excelled). There are also approximations (*gurai)* and conjunctions (*ato, to)* in Japanese. However, the insertion of the Japanese does not hinder the comprehension of Simona's utterances, therefore, I categorized these sections such as these as "mostly English".

Finally, the "balanced" turns have more or less equal number of Japanese and English phrases within the same sentence. An example of this intrasentential phenomena is as follows:

Example 5	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	543	SH: (laugh) yah. *Datte* we went to big- *na are*-Baja *mo itta jyan.* (Because) (wha-that) (also went) *Oboeteru*? (Do you remember?)
	2	544	CV: oh yah! You're right. *Soudatta ne.* (That's right)
	3	545	SH: Baja *mo nanka. Hoshi zora minna mita ne oboeteru.* (also like. We saw the stars at night, do you remember?)
	4	546	SI: ah *mitana.* (we saw them)
	5	547	CV: and then and then and then this dog came up and we thought
		548	it was a…*ookami.* (wolf)
	6	549	SH: a wolf.
	7	550	SI: a wolf. oh yah! *Ita ita ita ita.* (it was there, it was there, it was there, it was there)

In line 543, Sherry is explaining how our families went to Baja California together on a trip once. She starts with a Japanese word (*datte,* because*)*, follows with an English fragment (*we went to big-)*, and completes the sentence in Japanese. Sherry switches back and forth in short intervals to communicate her thoughts. In line 544 and 550, the interlocutors start their utterance in English, but end it with a Japanese phrase. Such utterances were considered as being balanced turns.

To answer Research Question Two, I divided the transcript by topic according to Gumperz (1982). I also categorized portions of the transcript into "objectified" and "personalized" dialogue according to Gumperz' (1982) sixth category of code-switching. I first defined what the boundaries of a "topic" were for this research. An obvious start to a new topic during the interview was when either of the interlocutors or I asked a question which held a different subject matter from the interaction just previous to the question. As the interviewer, I introduced new topics into the conversation such as the following:

Example 6	Turn #	Line #	Text	
	1	645	SH:	<inaudible> teach your kids sometimes. They say "I don't like it", they
		646		don't like it. Can't force it.
	2	647	CV:	I see. Man. Ohk. So then, uhm. Talking about. So Sherry after- a little
→		648		bit specific to you. How was it like when you went to Japan for the JET
		649		program.
		650	SH:	uh-huh
	3	651	CV:	why did you go? And how did you like it there? What was your
		652		experience?
	4	653	SH:	uuuhhm. So I always wanted to live in Japan at least once in my life.

The topic that Sherry was talking about (her childhood piano lessons) seemed to come to an end as she made a final comment regarding them. Once I sensed that the topic was ending, and that it was a good point to transition, I introduced another question (marked with an arrow), which in this case was towards Sherry specifically regarding her experience with the JET program. After I received Sherry's consent to change the topic (line 650), I continued on with additional questions related to the new topic that I wanted to discuss. These questions were part of the pre-selected questions that I had prepared for this interview (listed above).

There were other cases in which a new topic came about more naturally throughout the course of the conversation as the interlocutors were reminded of another person, place, or memory from the past.

Example 7	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	388	SI: yaaah. *Mou iinokanaa.* And your mom. Yknow. Like she was pretty (I wonder if it's ok)
		389	strict. So we were like we could actually write on the walls?
		390	CV: *sousousousou.* (yahyahyahyah)
		391	SI: *uuun.* (hmm.)
→	2	392	CV: were you guys scared of- were you guys scared of my mom? Growing up?
	3	393	SH: ….yah! (laugh)

The topic that Simona was talking about in line 388 of Example 7 was regards to the time when our mother allowed us to draw on the walls before we remodeled our home. My question in line 392 was not something that I had planned on asking Sherry and Simona during the interview. I thought the topic of my mother would be interesting to pursue, so I asked the question (marked by an arrow) in order to receive more insight into what Sherry and Simona thought about my mother while we were growing up.

Other topics came up during the conversation as a statement, which was not always related to the previous topic that was in progress. For example,

Example 8	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	463	SI: uun. I know. We all kinda knew like oh she had work you know. It's
		464	the end of the week. And *shigoto ganbatta kara*. Un. We'll leave her (she worked hard at work)
		465	alone. Leave her some quiet time. And.
	2	466	CV: oh really? hmmmm. *Sounanda*. Wow. Yah. I remember. (Is that so?)
→	3	467	SH: yah. We traveled a lot too. Yah.
	4	468	CV: oh yahyah.

In line 463 of Example 8, Simona was speaking about her mother being tired all the time on Friday nights because it was "the end of the week", and how Simona and Sherry often left her alone for "her quiet time". Sherry interjects at line 467 (marked by an arrow) with a new topic regarding our families traveling together. This topic seems to be unrelated to the previous discussion about Simona and Sharon's mother, but Sherry was actually reintroducing a topic that I posed moments before. Sherry remembered my original question for this topic, ("What do you remember about the things that our families did together?"), and attempted to go back to the original question with her sudden change of topic at line 467.

Sometimes a topic changed slightly, but not completely to a different focus. I did not count these as a separate topic.

Example 9	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	407	SH: *sorewa taihen datta to omou*. could you imagine having six kids right (I think it was really hard)
		408	now? (laugh)
	2	409	SI: kids right now?
	3	410	CV: no! I'm like so so then I'm like appreciating my mom a hundren times
		411	more (laugh). I'm like mom how did you do it?!
→	4	412	SI: or like *omukaeni kita jyan*. Westchester *toka*? Your mom would pick (she came to pick us up) (for example)
		413	us up. Me n Sherry.

From lines 407 to 410 in Example 9, the topic is about my mother having to handle six kids by herself, and our amazement as we thought how difficult that must've been for my mother. Simona makes a slight switch in the topic at line 412 as she recalled how my mother used to come and pick us up from school (*"omukaeni kita jyan"*). The topic is still on my mother, but Simona makes a move away from babysitting the kids to my

mother's diligence in picking us up from school. Since the topic was still the same, I included line 412 and 413 under the same topic as lines 407 through 411.

"Objectified" vs "Personalized"

Using Gumperz' (1982) topic categories "personalized and objectified", I separated the discourse in each topic to reflect either of these categories. The "objective" category had words that described people and places as well as lexical nouns. These were items that spoke of the facts as the interlocutor recounted a story or described a situation. The "personalized" includes Bakthin's quotatives and personal opinions. These had more vibrant quotes from people in the past, and the interlocutors often took on the role of the person she was quoting. Table 1 is an example of how I organized the data from lines 1221 through line 1243.

Table 1: Japanese and English statements from Lines 426 through 444

	Objectified	Personalized
Japanese	• *ima ne... Mou honto ni*. (Right now…No really) • I- I – *tenuki shichaun dayone uchi.* (I don't put much effort into it)	• *ah chotto!* (Oh hey!) • *dame dayo*! (That's not good!) • *Dame da. Dame da* (Not good. Not good.)
English	• I mean John John cooks more than I do these days • I'm like. Oh – cuz I'm studying or like I have to • do projects and then I don't I- I'm the type that if I'm stressed I don't eat. And so then… • So I- I don't make food. and then he's like…I know! and so he makes something like really quick like *chaahan toka* or like you know some soup and. you know even if it's late at night he makes something. • ….but, yah. I'm learning, I'm learning. I'm trying to train myself to eat more but.	• I wish I learned more from my mom. • I feel bad sometimes. • So then he- he comes home, and then he's like, "uh, are-are you going to eat dinner?" N I'm like, "OH! *Gomen.* I- nlike I totally forgot." • So I'm like "I'm so sorry!" • I'm so bad. Bad wife…Yah. I know. I should've learned more from my mom.

"Double-voicing"

To answer Research Question Three, I used a framework based on Bakhtin's (1981) construct of "double-voicing" to identify cases of polyphony in reported speech, where the interlocutor reenacts and sometimes quotes a person with his/her particular speech, body language, and/or nuances that the person carries. I identified multiple sections in the transcript where such cases of "double-voicing" occurred using Bakhtin's (1929, 1981) definition. I then separated these sections further into those that used a quotative expression and code-switching to report the words of others and those that used zero quotatives (according to work on the structure of reported speech by Yule 1998) and code-switching to re-enact a role to speak with the voice of another (Bakhtin (1929, 1981). In terms of structure, there were two types of reported speech: one using a quotative and one with zero quotative.

Example 10	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	628	CV: *SOOU! sousou*. It's like that sinking feeling of like, (YAH! yahyah) "uuuuh…*yannai to* (I need to
		629	*piano*". (laugh) practice piano)
	2	630	SH: (laugh) but she was like *kan ga sugoi.* Cuz *chotto machigattara* you (senses were sharp.) (if you made a little mistake)
		631	could hear her say something from the kitchen.
		632	CV: I know…
	3	633	SI: "*chigau yo*!" ("That's wrong!")
	4	634	CV: "*mou ikkaai*!" (laugh) ("One more time!")
	5	635	SI: "*hora chigau yo*!" (laugh) ("Hey that's wrong!")

In Example 10, Sherry, Simona, and I are directly quoting and reenacting my mother, who used to be very strict about us practicing piano during the week. In line 318, I quoted myself as a child (uuuuh…*yannai to piano)* who was bemoaning the fact that I

had to do my weekly piano practice when my best friends, Sherry and Simona, were over to play. Simona and I then reenact my mother's voice and stern tone in line 633, 634, and 635, recounting how my mother used to scold us when we made mistakes during practice. In the reported speech like the above, my interlocutors and I are role playing people with direct quotes from what we remember.

Role play is equivalent to Yule's constructed dialogue in that it doesn't directly quote the exact words of the person, but rather creatively reenacts them. The interlocutor takes on the identity of another important person and dramatizes the role through word and language choice, body language, tone of voice, and attitude. To the listener, it becomes apparent that the speaker is speaking like another person, and filters his/her dialogue through that identity.

Example 11	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	1515	CV: *Arigatou!* I mean commencement for us is April 26th. But uhm, I (thank you) don't
		1516	think I'll be done by then. I doubt it. But I hope to get out and finally graduate this semester so…
		1517	[….]
	2	1518	CV: *kiri wo tsukeruzo! Konoyaro! Tte.* (I'm going to finish this thing once an for all! This thing!)
		1519	SH/SI: (laugh)

In line 1518 of Example 11, I take on another identity, though I am speaking for myself. My tone for this turn is very fun and playful. In response to my heart-felt desires to graduate, I express this sentiment in line 1518 with the colloquial way of saying, "I'm going to finish this!" in Japanese. This phrase (*kiri wo tsukeruzo!)* is often used when two people are fighting and an opponent is about to make the final blow to end the fight. Similarly, the phrase, *"Konoyaro!"* is very colloquial and used when a person is very frustrated or angry at another (especially among men). Using this expression is a sure

sign that someone doesn't like you or is about to express rage. By expressing myself in this way, I have taken on the role of a gangster or a fighter. However, my tone of voice is very playful yet wearisome, which implies that I am not an angry mobster, but a fighter who's mustering up what remaining strength she's got to finish what she had started (in this case, my Master's paper). Simona and Sherry pick up on the irony of my role play, and laugh in response (line 1519).

RESULTS

Research Question One: Do the interlocutors produce mostly English, mostly Japanese, or balanced turns?

The first research question focuses on the frequency of turns containing any of 3 varieties of code switches produced by the interlocutors: mostly English, mostly Japanese, or balanced. This analysis is based on an hour session among myself, Simona, and Sherry. The conversation contains 868 turns (see Table 2). 574 of these turns were found to be "mostly English", which accounts for 66.1% of the data. 191 were found to be "mostly Japanese", which accounts for 22% of the data. 103 turns were found to be "balanced", which accounts for 11.9% of the data. The "inaudible" turns were not taken into account as these turns could not be accounted for using any of the linguistic categories above.

Table 2. All data and total number of turns per linguistic category

	Turns	%
English	574	66.1%
Japanese	191	22.0%
Combined	103	11.9%
Total # of Turns	868	100.0%

Turns classified as mostly English occurred very frequently (66.1%) throughout the interview. However, not all of the basically English discourse was entirely in English. It was common to hear Japanese words and shorter phrases included in a longer sequence of turns consisting of English discourse. Such an example is as follows:

Example 12	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	657	SH: *Demo*. Like *taiko* kinda over took everything. (but) (Japanese drums)
	2	658	CV: *Taiko*? Oooh. I see (Japanese drums)
	3	659	SH: I played *taiko* in college. (Japanese drums)
		660	CV: Oh yah I remember
	4	661	SH: So I would have to quit that to be able to go abroad. So I didn't. I guess
		662	yah I wanted to do that. So my second option was this JET program
		663	cuz a lot of people. I guess my *senpai's* been on it. And they had (Seniors)
		664	words about it. So it was like, "I want to do that too" so. *Demo*, (but) before I
		665	left, my mom told me that I can't have this same mentality of.. Going as
		666	a vacation. Cuz *soreshika wakatte naijan*? (that's all I've known, right?)
		667	CV: *un un*. (yah yah)
	5	668	SH: Whenever we go, it's always good times you know because you get to
		669	see the family. And they spoil you. And she's like, "*soretowa* ("When you *chigau* work,
		670	*karane hataraitara*". Right? So I always remember what she said it's going to be different.")
		671	about that. So when I went, the first winter was really hard. Yah
		672	*Samukatta shi. Samui no narete naijan* = (It was cold. I wasn't used to the cold, right?)
		673	CV: yahyahyah
		674	SH: = Snow in *Chiba*. And then I remember I didn't talk to anybody for
		675	three days.

In Example 12, Sherry introduces some Japanese into her explanation of why she chose to go to Japan to teach English. Her Japanese was used for lexical nouns (*taiko, senpai*),

to quote her Japanese mother, and to ask a question with the inflection *jan*. This pattern of Japanese usage within the English discourse was very common throughout our dialogue.

Example 13	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	1115	SH: Yah. It's very interesting. The older you get. What you see. Yah. Or
		1116	what think back then but. At least he's ok now (laugh) But we try
		1117	to tell him how it affected you know us as adults too. Just sometimes
		1118	we have conversations like. *Kouyatte* <inaudible> (like this)
	2	1119	SI: Yah. Like. Not so serious or like heavy but like. Ahh, *"wakannai-"*. ("I don't know—")
		1120	Kind of. And so. He's at a point where now he'll listen more. I think
		1121	that at that time he was not that open at all. But now I think you know
		1122	he's getting older so like. I think he. You know. He's more sensitive or
		1123	whatev- or open to hearing about what we might have to say.
	3	1124	SH: Or how we were back then. You know kind of the emotions that were
		1125	going through because. now *onnanoko jan? Yousuruni*. We didn't (we're girls, right? So, basically)
		1126	grow up as girls. I think I think both of us grew up more like guys.
		1127	Trying to stay calm you know? Cuz mom was having to pay the
		1128	finances and went to private schools we did all these *narai goto.* (extra curricular activities)
		1129	And she financially had to carry all the burdens so.

In Example 13, Sherry and Simona use Japanese minimally in this part of the discourse. Their Japanese is limited to quotations (*wakkannai)*, questions (*onnanoko jan?*), and transition words (*you suru ni, kouyatte).* Most of the one hour conversation occurred in such a pattern where English was the dominant language and Japanese added on for lexicons, transition words, and quotations.

Turns I classified as in the mostly Japanese variety were less frequent (22 %) in occurrence. These utterances were often expressed in full Japanese, often used to describe Japanese people or to quote them speaking in Japanese.

Example 14	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	256	SH: *Kyoukasho dewa nai mono o chanto oshiete kureta sensei kana.* (He was a teacher who taught us things that were not in the text book)
		257	CV: aaah.
		258	SH: yah.
	2	259	CV: *tatoeba. tatoeba* (for example, for example)
	3	260	SH: *uuuun. Nandaro*. Like *reigi toka. Chanto asa no aisatsu o* (What is it) (like manners. We must do our
		261	*shinkucha ikenai.* morning greetings)
	4	262	CV: *uun…reigi!*..ahh. (manners!)
	5	263	SH: *darekaga shabbete chanto me to mukatte kiki nasai mitai na.* (Like, when someone is talking to you, look at them in the eye and listen to them)

In Example 14, Sherry uses Japanese to describe her teacher at Asahi Gakuen, Mr. Yonekawa. She describes what he taught them ("things that were not in the textbook", "manners", "how to greet people in the morning", "look at the person while you're talking to them"). As she recalls Mr. Yonekawa, she shares her memories about him in Japanese.

As Japanese friends and relatives were recalled during the discourse, the discussion often led to what they said or how my interlocutors and I related with them in the past. In the case of my mother, Sherry and Simona's recollection of her is as follows:

Example 15	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	614	CV: *ne. ne renshuu shinaishisa.* (right. right. practice your piano)
	2	615	SH: *renshuu shinakatta ne.* (we didn't practice, huh)
	3	616	SI: I remember your mom was like, "*konshuu wa zenzen hiite nai*" and (this week you haven't practiced at all) you guys had to play=
		617	CV: *sou.* (right)
		618	SI: =on the piano.
		619	CV: *sou*. (right)
	4	620	SI: *oboetenai?* Your mom like- (you don't remember?)
	5	621	CV: *oboeteru.* I hated it. (I remember)
	6	622	SI: <inaudible> "*zenzen kiite nai yo*." (laugh) (I haven't heard you at all)
			[….]
	7	633	SI: "*chigau yo*!" ("That's wrong!")
	8	634	CV: "*mou ikkaai*!" (laugh) ("One more time!")
	9	635	SI: "*hora chigau yo*!" (laugh) ("Hey that's wrong!")

Example 15 is another example of turns I classified as mostly Japanese, which occurs when Simona quotes my mother regarding how she used to remind us about practicing the piano when Simona and Sherry came over to my house to play. As a strict mother with a keen ear, she could tell where we made a mistake as we played the piano. Simona and I both quote my mother in Japanese in lines 616, 622, 633, 634, and 635, as my mother only spoke to us in Japanese as kids.

Turns I classified as balanced had roughly equal amounts of Japanese and English phrases within the same sentence.

Example 16	Turn #	Line #	Text
	1	88	CV: *soudattane*. yah. And Simona for you it was *ohiru no jikan*? (you're right) (lunch time)
	2	89	SI: *un. Minna ne*. we would look forward to it. And then *minna nan* (yah. everyone.) (What's
			kyou everyone's…)
		90	*no bentou wa nani.* lunch today?)
		91	CV: oh really?
		92	SI: you can kinda tell who's mom was like a home-maker versus you
		93	know. <inaudible> *obentou de=* *(*by the lunch)
		94	CV: oohhh
		95	SI: = *wakacchaunone.* Like. (you can know)
		96	CV: eh. Oh yah?
		97	SI: your mom. <inaudible> *nandemo suggoi nanka obentou mottekuru* (there are kids who bring like the greatest lunches)
			ko
		98	*to* versus like. *nanka kyou wa sandouicchi da* (laugh) and) (like 'today is a sandwich')
		99	CV: (laugh)
		100	SH: (laugh)
	3	101	SI: or like our par. Or like I dunno our mom was always *sandouicchi* (was a sandwich
			datta
		102	*jan.* right?)

In Example 16, Simona switches fluidly from Japanese to English. There are frequent intrasentential switches from English to Japanese. Both Simona and I started to speak English but ended our sentence in Japanese on multiple occasions in this example. In line 101, Simona uses both Japanese and English grammar to say, "Or like I dunno our mom was always *sandouicchi datta jan*"(was a sandwich*).* Similarly, in line 88, I start my sentence in English (*And Simona for you it was…*), and end it in Japanese (*…ohiru no jikan*). There is also line 98, where Simona includes a short English phrase, *versus like*, in the middle of her Japanese sentence. However, utterances that were balanced were very few throughout our conversation, making up for only 11.9% of the dialogue.

Research Question Two: Are there any patterns in the interlocutors' use of Japanese and English related to "topic", the "objectified", and "personalized"?

When I initially began analyzing the transcript data, I dissected the conversation from different angles. I first attempted to categorize the entire interview by topics applying theories from Broner's research on "content" (2001), Preston's definition of topic (1989), and Nishiumura's (1997) theory of frame marking. After giving a title to each topic, I then separated each category by its seeming relevance to Japanese culture and/or identity (see Table 3).

Table 3. Data analyzed by topic and cultural relevance

Lines	Topic #	Topic	Ethnic?	Total #	J	%	E	%	B	%
# 1-54	1	Introduction: what my paper's about	No	16	3	18.8%	11	68.8%	2	12.5%
#55-122	2	Asahi Gakuen: lunch hour and leaving early for bball	Yes	41	9	22.0%	26	63.4%	6	14.6%
# 123-160	3	spending Friday Nights/ basketball	Yes	17	4	23.5%	11	64.7%	2	11.8%
# 161 - 313	4	Favorite teachers in Asahi: yonekawa/seto	Yes	78	30	38.5%	41	52.6%	7	9.0%
#314 - 348	5	My view of Asahi/Asahi Gakuen friends	No	9	0	0.0%	9	100.0%	0	0.0%
# 349 - 391	6	My house getting remodeled	No	26	2	7.7%	21	80.8%	3	11.5%
# 392 - 425	7	CV's mom - her disciplines and parenting	Yes	18	2	11.1%	14	77.8%	2	11.1%
# 426 - 444	8	CV's lack of disicpline, SH/SI reprimands	No	10	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%
# 445 - 464	9	SH/SI's mom on Friday night	Yes	9	1	11.1%	7	77.8%	1	11.1%
#465-592	10	Travels with our families: Japan, Ski, Baja	Yes/No	84	19	22.6%	54	64.3%	11	13.1%
# 593 - 646	11	Piano practice with Higuchi-sensei	Yes	33	8	24.2%	18	54.5%	7	21.2%
# 647 - 719	12	SH's JET program (sharon as teacher)	Yes	32	1	3.1%	28	87.5%	3	9.4%
# 720 - 786	13	SH"s visit to see Yuki in Japan/Yuki	Yes	50	18	36.0%	29	58.0%	3	6.0%
# 787-859	14	New Years	Yes	55	19	34.5%	29	52.7%	7	12.7%
# 860 - 898	15	Easter, my pets	No	29	7	24.1%	18	62.1%	4	13.8%
# 899-954	16	How we played at each other's homes	No	36	10	27.8%	22	61.1%	4	11.1%
#955-989	17	Christmas, Halloween	No	24	2	8.3%	19	79.2%	3	12.5%
# 990-1026	18	Middle School Hawaii trip	No	33	4	12.1%	27	81.8%	2	6.1%
#1027- 1157	19	SH/SI dad's (past) & depression	Yes	57	8	14.0%	47	82.5%	2	3.5%
# 1158-1216	20	SH/SI parents	Yes	36	5	13.9%	29	80.6%	2	5.6%
#1217-1220	21	Interruption	No	3	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
# 1221-1243	22	SH/SI Dad (present)	Yes	19	8	42.1%	7	36.8%	4	21.1%
#1244-1276	23	SH/SI's Dad's recent depression	Yes	28	3	10.7%	21	75.0%	4	14.3%
# 1277-1322	24	CV's mom: post-divorce & her job	Yes	32	5	15.6%	23	71.9%	4	12.5%
#1323-1405	25	How would you identify with Japanese Am?	Yes	29	5	17.2%	17	58.6%	7	24.1%
# 1406 - 1437	26	When do you use Japanese the most right now?	Yes	22	2	9.1%	14	63.6%	6	27.3%
#1438-1473	27	CV losing her Japanese	Yes	12	2	16.7%	6	50.0%	4	33.3%
#1474 - 1504	28	Joy's Japanese	Yes	19	6	31.6%	11	57.9%	2	10.5%
# 1505-1528	29	Closing	No	11	4	36.4%	6	54.5%	1	9.1%
				868	**191**	**22.0%**	**574**	**66.1%**	**103**	**11.9%**

In this analysis, there were 29 topics total, including the introduction and closing remarks. The inaudible discourse throughout the dialogue was not accounted for in the final percentages. The topics were summarized briefly and determined if it had any Japanese culture (people, places, things) as part of its content. Next, I sorted the data

from highest to lowest percentage of Japanese turns, English turns, and balanced turns (respectively), to see if there was any pattern in relationship between the particular language choice with the topic's cultural content (Tables 4, 5, and 6 below).

Table 4 displays topics by their frequency of Japanese discourse within each topic (from highest to lowest). The highest frequency of Japanese was during the discussion of Simona and Sherry's father's present condition (Topic 22), especially with regards to his health and recent hobby of running. The Japanese discourse amounted for 42.1% of the discourse, which was the highest percentage among all of the topics mentioned. However, this percentage accounts only for 8 turns within the dialogue. This is very minimal compared to Topic 4. The percentage of Japanese used in Topic 4 compared to English was 38.5%, which accounted for 30 turns within the conversation. Therefore, Topic 4 had more density in Japanese turns compared to Topic 22.

Table 4. Table of topics organized by percentage of mostly Japanese turns

Lines	Topic #	Topic	Ethnic?	Total #	J	%	E	%	B	%
# 1221-1243	22	SH/SI Dad (present)	Yes	19	8	42.1%	7	36.8%	4	21.1%
# 426 - 444	8	CV's lack of disicpline, SH/SI reprimands	No	10	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%
# 161 - 313	4	Favorite teachers in Asahi: yonekawa/seto	Yes	78	30	38.5%	41	52.6%	7	9.0%
# 1505-1528	29	Closing	No	11	4	36.4%	6	54.5%	1	9.1%
# 720 - 786	13	SH''s visit to see Yuki in Japan/Yuki	Yes	50	18	36.0%	29	58.0%	3	6.0%
# 787-859	14	New Years	Yes	55	19	34.5%	29	52.7%	7	12.7%
#1474 - 1504	28	Joy's Japanese	Yes	19	6	31.6%	11	57.9%	2	10.5%
# 899-954	16	How we played at each other's homes	No	36	10	27.8%	22	61.1%	4	11.1%
# 593 - 646	11	Piano practice with Higuchi-sensei	Yes	33	8	24.2%	18	54.5%	7	21.2%
# 860 - 898	15	Easter, my pets	No	29	7	24.1%	18	62.1%	4	13.8%
# 123-160	3	spending Friday Nights/ basketball	Yes	17	4	23.5%	11	64.7%	2	11.8%
#465-592	10	Travels with our families: Japan, Ski, Baja	Yes/No	84	19	22.6%	54	64.3%	11	13.1%
#55-122	2	Asahi Gakuen: lunch hour and leaving early for bball	Yes	41	9	22.0%	26	63.4%	6	14.6%
# 1-54	1	Introduction: what my paper's about	No	16	3	18.8%	11	68.8%	2	12.5%
#1323-1405	25	How would you identify with Japanese Am?	Yes	29	5	17.2%	17	58.6%	7	24.1%
#1438-1473	27	CV losing her Japanese	Yes	12	2	16.7%	6	50.0%	4	33.3%
# 1277-1322	24	CV's mom: post-divorce & her job	Yes	32	5	15.6%	23	71.9%	4	12.5%
#1027- 1157	19	SH/SI dad's (past) & depression	Yes	57	8	14.0%	47	82.5%	2	3.5%
# 1158-1216	20	SH/SI parents	Yes	36	5	13.9%	29	80.6%	2	5.6%
# 990-1026	18	Middle School Hawaii trip	No	33	4	12.1%	27	81.8%	2	6.1%
# 392 - 425	7	CV's mom - her disciplines and parenting	Yes	18	2	11.1%	14	77.8%	2	11.1%
# 445 - 464	9	SH/SI's mom on Friday night	Yes	9	1	11.1%	7	77.8%	1	11.1%
#1244-1276	23	SH/SI's Dad's recent depression	Yes	28	3	10.7%	21	75.0%	4	14.3%
# 1406 - 1437	26	When do you use Japanese the most right now?	Yes	22	2	9.1%	14	63.6%	6	27.3%
#955-989	17	Christmas, Halloween	No	24	2	8.3%	19	79.2%	3	12.5%
# 349 - 391	6	My house getting remodeled	No	26	2	7.7%	21	80.8%	3	11.5%
# 647 - 719	12	SH's JET program (sharon as teacher)	Yes	32	1	3.1%	28	87.5%	3	9.4%
#314 - 348	5	My view of Asahi/Asahi Gakuen friends	No	9	0	0.0%	9	100.0%	0	0.0%
#1217-1220	21	Interruption	No	3	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

The data in Table 5 is ordered by the "mostly English" turns, from highest to lowest in frequency. The highest percentage of English turns appeared in Topics 5 and 21, which had 100% frequency. However, if we look at the total number of turns, it is the lowest among all of the topics represented. Comparatively, there are Topics 12 and 19 that have 87.5% and 82.5% frequency in English turns (respectively). Although the frequency is lower compared to Topics 5 and 21, the total number of turns is quantitatively greater.

Table 5. Table of topics organized by percentage of mostly English turns

Lines	Topic #	Topic	Ethnic?	Total #	J	%	E	%	B	%
#314 - 348	5	My view of Asahi/Asahi Gakuen friends	No	9	0	0.0%	9	100.0%	0	0.0%
#1217-1220	21	Interruption	No	3	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
# 647 - 719	12	SH's JET program (sharon as teacher)	Yes	32	1	3.1%	28	87.5%	3	9.4%
#1027- 1157	19	SH/SI dad's (past) & depression	Yes	57	8	14.0%	47	82.5%	2	3.5%
# 990-1026	18	Middle School Hawaii trip	No	33	4	12.1%	27	81.8%	2	6.1%
# 349 - 391	6	My house getting remodeled	No	26	2	7.7%	21	80.8%	3	11.5%
# 1158-1216	20	SH/SI parents	Yes	36	5	13.9%	29	80.6%	2	5.6%
#955-989	17	Christmas, Halloween	No	24	2	8.3%	19	79.2%	3	12.5%
# 392 - 425	7	CV's mom - her disciplines and parenting	Yes	18	2	11.1%	14	77.8%	2	11.1%
# 445 - 464	9	SH/SI's mom on Friday night	Yes	9	1	11.1%	7	77.8%	1	11.1%
#1244-1276	23	SH/SI's Dad's recent depression	Yes	28	3	10.7%	21	75.0%	4	14.3%
# 1277-1322	24	CV's mom: post-divorce & her job	Yes	32	5	15.6%	23	71.9%	4	12.5%
# 1-54	1	Introduction: what my paper's about	No	16	3	18.8%	11	68.8%	2	12.5%
# 123-160	3	spending Friday Nights/ basketball	Yes	17	4	23.5%	11	64.7%	2	11.8%
#465-592	10	Travels with our families: Japan, Ski, Baja	Yes/No	84	19	22.6%	54	64.3%	11	13.1%
# 1406 - 1437	26	When do you use Japanese the most right now?	Yes	22	2	9.1%	14	63.6%	6	27.3%
#55-122	2	Asahi Gakuen: lunch hour and leaving early for b	Yes	41	9	22.0%	26	63.4%	6	14.6%
# 860 - 898	15	Easter, my pets	No	29	7	24.1%	18	62.1%	4	13.8%
# 899-954	16	How we played at each other's homes	No	36	10	27.8%	22	61.1%	4	11.1%
# 426 - 444	8	CV's lack of disicpline, SH/SI reprimands	No	10	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%
#1323-1405	25	How would you identify with Japanese Am?	Yes	29	5	17.2%	17	58.6%	7	24.1%
# 720 - 786	13	SH''s visit to see Yuki in Japan/Yuki	Yes	50	18	36.0%	29	58.0%	3	6.0%
#1474 - 1504	28	Joy's Japanese	Yes	19	6	31.6%	11	57.9%	2	10.5%
# 593 - 646	11	Piano practice with Higuchi-sensei	Yes	33	8	24.2%	18	54.5%	7	21.2%
# 1505-1528	29	Closing	No	11	4	36.4%	6	54.5%	1	9.1%
# 787-859	14	New Years	Yes	55	19	34.5%	29	52.7%	7	12.7%
# 161 - 313	4	Favorite teachers in Asahi: yonekawa/seto	Yes	78	30	38.5%	41	52.6%	7	9.0%
#1438-1473	27	CV losing her Japanese	Yes	12	2	16.7%	6	50.0%	4	33.3%
# 1221-1243	22	SH/SI Dad (present)	Yes	19	8	42.1%	7	36.8%	4	21.1%

The data in Table 6 is arranged by the frequency of the balanced turns, from highest to lowest. In Topic 27, out of the 12 total turns, there were four balanced turns, which accounted for the highest frequency (33.3%) of mixed turns throughout the transcript. In Topic 26, there were six balanced turns from 22 turns, accounting for 27.3% of this dialogue. The balanced choice appeared the lowest among the three language

varieties, yet the intersentential and intra-sentential switches were most salient and interesting.

Table 6. Table of topics organized by frequency of balanced turns

Lines	Topic #	Topic	Ethnic?	Total #	J	%	E	%	B	%
#1438-1473	27	CV losing her Japanese	Yes	12	2	16.7%	6	50.0%	4	33.3%
# 1406 - 1437	26	When do you use Japanese the most right now?	Yes	22	2	9.1%	14	63.6%	6	27.3%
#1323-1405	25	How would you identify with Japanese Am?	Yes	29	5	17.2%	17	58.6%	7	24.1%
# 593 - 646	11	Piano practice with Higuchi-sensei	Yes	33	8	24.2%	18	54.5%	7	21.2%
# 1221-1243	22	SH/SI Dad (present)	Yes	19	8	42.1%	7	36.8%	4	21.1%
#55-122	2	Asahi Gakuen: lunch hour and leaving early for bball	Yes	41	9	22.0%	26	63.4%	6	14.6%
#1244-1276	23	SH/SI's Dad's recent depression	Yes	28	3	10.7%	21	75.0%	4	14.3%
# 860 - 898	15	Easter, my pets	No	29	7	24.1%	18	62.1%	4	13.8%
#465-592	10	Travels with our families: Japan, Ski, Baja	Yes/No	84	19	22.6%	54	64.3%	11	13.1%
# 787-859	14	New Years	Yes	55	19	34.5%	29	52.7%	7	12.7%
# 1-54	1	Introduction: what my paper's about	No	16	3	18.8%	11	68.8%	2	12.5%
#955-989	17	Christmas, Halloween	No	24	2	8.3%	19	79.2%	3	12.5%
# 1277-1322	24	CV's mom: post-divorce & her job	Yes	32	5	15.6%	23	71.9%	4	12.5%
# 123-160	3	spending Friday Nights/ basketball	Yes	17	4	23.5%	11	64.7%	2	11.8%
# 349 - 391	6	My house getting remodeled	No	26	2	7.7%	21	80.8%	3	11.5%
# 392 - 425	7	CV's mom - her disciplines and parenting	Yes	18	2	11.1%	14	77.8%	2	11.1%
# 445 - 464	9	SH/SI's mom on Friday night	Yes	9	1	11.1%	7	77.8%	1	11.1%
# 899-954	16	How we played at each other's homes	No	36	10	27.8%	22	61.1%	4	11.1%
#1474 - 1504	28	Joy's Japanese	Yes	19	6	31.6%	11	57.9%	2	10.5%
# 647 - 719	12	SH's JET program (sharon as teacher)	Yes	32	1	3.1%	28	87.5%	3	9.4%
# 1505-1528	29	Closing	No	11	4	36.4%	6	54.5%	1	9.1%
# 161 - 313	4	Favorite teachers in Asahi: yonekawa/seto	Yes	78	30	38.5%	41	52.6%	7	9.0%
# 990-1026	18	Middle School Hawaii trip	No	33	4	12.1%	27	81.8%	2	6.1%
# 720 - 786	13	SH"s visit to see Yuki in Japan/Yuki	Yes	50	18	36.0%	29	58.0%	3	6.0%
# 1158-1216	20	SH/SI parents	Yes	36	5	13.9%	29	80.6%	2	5.6%
#1027- 1157	19	SH/SI dad's (past) & depression	Yes	57	8	14.0%	47	82.5%	2	3.5%
#314 - 348	5	My view of Asahi/Asahi Gakuen friends	No	9	0	0.0%	9	100.0%	0	0.0%
# 426 - 444	8	CV's lack of disicpline, SH/SI reprimands	No	10	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%
#1217-1220	21	Interruption	No	3	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

After sorting the data into these three tables, I took the top three topics in each table and compared them to see if a pattern would emerge between the topic of conversation (especially Japanese cultural topics) and language choice. By making this comparison, I wanted to observe if our language choice was affected by the Japanese content (people, places, food, etc) of our conversation.

In Table 4, Topics 22, 8, and 4 were the top three topics with the highest percentage of Japanese turns. I noticed that the frequency of Japanese did not seem related with the cultural topics mentioned during the conversation. For example, the conversations in Topic 22 (Example 17) and 4 both pertained to Japanese people. Most of the Japanese turns in Topic 22 were to describe Sherry and Simona's

father's hobby of running, his physical condition, and their views towards their parents' relationship. Topic 4's Japanese turns were descriptions about the Japanese and Japanese American students at Asahi Gakuen as well as Sherry and Simona's favorite Asahi Gakuen teachers. Other than the longer quotes by Sherry demonstrated in a few lines within Topic 4, the Japanese utterances were short and functioned to describe the characteristics of the Japanese teachers. However, Topic 8 (Example 18) is not directly related as much with topics concerning Japanese culture, but still had the higher percentage of Japanese compared to the English spoken during that segment. Though Topic 8 was primarily regarding Sherry's Japanese responses to my description of graduate life (and my failure to carry out my duties of a wife), it could be argued that this could be a potential cultural topic if we consider Sherry's responses as her objection towards my breaking away from Japanese traditional role of the woman as the "home-maker wife" and mother.

Example 17. Transcription of Topic 22 labeled by language dominance

English or Japanese Turns	Turn #	Line #	Text
J	1	1221	SI: *Ah iro iro nanka omoshiroi hanashi ga detekuru.* (laugh) (Man, there's a lot of interesting stories that are coming out)
E	2	1222	CV: Yah. It's all interesting to hear how your parents met. (laugh)
J	3	1223	SH: *Neeeee. Fushigi dayone. Ano futari* (Really. It's such a mystery. Those two)
		1224	CV: (laugh)
J	4	1225	SH: *hontoni fushigi dato omounda.* (laugh) (I think it's so mysterious)
E	5	1226	CV: yah. But it's always nice to see them together whenever I go back and it's New Years or.
		1227	SI: Yah.
J	6	1228	SH: Ahhh*. Nee. Demo. Are wa nigiyaka no toki da to omou yo.* (Really. But. I think it's because it's a very social time)

E	7	1229	CV: Yah. Yah. Your dad has- has a lot of gray hairs now. *Mo hontoni.* *(*Seriously)
B	8	1230	SI: *Mou.* He- he doesn't dye. *Mou masshiro.* (Gosh) (Really white)
B	9	1231	CV: *Mou masshiro dayone*. When I see him each time. (It's really white)
E	10	1232	SI: *Kuroi desho* he's like really dark. His <inaudible> (Isn't he black)
E	11	1233	SH: He's into fitness all of a sudden.
		1234	CV: Oh, *hontoni*? (really)
E	12	1235	SH: Next time we should uhm ask to see his *ashi. Sugoin dayo*. (feet. It's amazing)
J	13	1236	SI: *Kinniku ga mukui.* (A lot of muscle)
J	14	1237	SH: *Kinniku!* (muscle!)
		1238	CV: Oh really?
J	15	1239	SI: *Ashi no kinniku* (Leg muscle)
E	16	1240	CV: Wo, *nani* does he run or something? (what)
E	17	1241	SI: He walks like three mile-, *nijikan* every day. (two hours)
B	18	1242	CV: Wow! Really? *Sugoi ne* (That's amazing)
J	19	1243	SH: *Ma,* retire *dakara. Hima nanjya* (Well) (Because. He has time)

Example 18. Transcription of Topic 8 labeled by language dominance

English or Japanese turns	Turn #	Line #	Text
E	1	426	CV: yaah. I know. I wish I learned more from my mom.
		427	SH/SI: (laugh)
E	2	428	CV: *ima ne*. I mean John John cooks more than I do these days. *Mou* (these days) *honto ni*. (really)
J	3	429	SH: *ah chotto!* (oh hey!)
E	4	430	CV: I feel bad sometimes. I'm like. Oh – cuz I'm studying or like I have to
		431	do projects and then I don't I- I'm the type that if I'm stressed I don't
		432	eat. And so then…
J	5	433	SH : *dame dayo*! (that's not good!)
E	6	434	CV: I- I – *tenuki shichaun dayone uchi.* So I- I don't make food. So then

			(I don't put in much effort) he-
		435	he comes home, and then he's like, "uh, are-are you going to eat dinner?"
		436	(laugh). N I'm like, "OH! *Gomen.* I- n like I totally forgot."= (sorry)
J	7	437	SH: (laugh) *dame dayo!* (that's not good!)
E	8	438	CV: = and then he's like…I know! and so he makes something like really
		439	quick like *chaahan toka* or like you know some soup and. You (like fried rice) know
		440	even if it's late at night he makes something. So I'm like "I'm so sorry!"
		441	SH: (laugh)
E	9	442	CV: I'm so bad. Bad wife….but, yah. I'm learning I'm learning. I'm trying to
		443	train myself to eat more but. Yah. I know. I should've learned more
		444	from my mom.
		445	SH/SI: (laugh)
J	10	446	CV: *Dame da. Dame da.* (laugh) (that's not good. that's not good.)

From the top three rankings of Japanese turns described above, it can be said that there is no direct relationship with the "mostly Japanese" turns and Japanese cultural content of each conversation. It can be argued that Japanese utterances to reactions towards conflicting Japanese cultural values by Sherry could be included as a Japanese topic, but the relationship between topic and Japanese turns were not as clear as I had hypothesized.

For the top three topics in the mostly English turns (Table 5), Topics 5 and 21 had the highest frequency (100%) of English turns. Topic 5 was primarily about my Japanese school friends; therefore one could assume that our language choice would consist of more Japanese turns. However, these turns were in English

possibly because Sherry, Simona, and I were comparing our *Japanese American* friends with our American friends. Moreover, we also talked about our regrets for staying in Japanese school since we missed out on our American friends' birthday parties and weekend activities. Japanese words do appear in these turns, but are mostly in the form of loan words and back channels. Therefore, since the topics of discussion were primarily around Japanese American and American people, it was more natural for us to describe these people in English.

The topic with the second highest frequency of mostly English turns was Topic 12 (87.5%), which pertained to Sherry's experience in the JET program as an English culture teacher. Since Sherry taught abroad in Japan, I thought her utterances would be mostly in Japanese to describe her experience, but quite the contrary, Sherry spoke mostly in English instead. Upon analysis of the discourse in Topic 12, I noticed that Sherry was speaking mostly about her personal opinions about the Japanese culture she was immersed in at the time. She commented about her perception of the Japanese townspeople's life-philosophy and lack of academic motivation, how the winters were difficult for her, how her mentality as a teenager was different from the Japanese teens, and her final decision that she couldn't live in Japan. There were moments where she code-switched to Japanese or started a sentence in Japanese, but her Japanese utterance did not continue for too long. From these observations, I realized that having Japan as the topic setting did not guarantee Japanese as the language choice for my interlocutors; rather, English seemed a better choice in reflecting her critical *attitude* towards Japan.

Topic 19 had the highest number of turns in English in general (47 turns total), but was ranked as the third highest in terms of the ratio of English to Japanese turns

(82.5%). Topic 19 was Sherry and Simona's response to my question regarding their father's mental health during their high school years. I had asked them to expand on that time, and since the topic had to do with their Japanese father, I thought they might describe their situation more in Japanese. However, their responses were primarily in English. The few Japanese turns that were present in this dialogue consisted mostly of loan words, transition words, and a few adjective clauses. Simona and Sherry shared freely with regards to their father's refusal to admit his depression, the generational trend of depression in their family, and how they tried to cope with their father's depression during high school. It became evident to me that Simona and Sherry had never been able to have an open conversation with their father regarding his mental health. Even many years after the event, the father has expressed much defensiveness and emotional distance about his past condition, and has refused to speak about it.

Here, I would like to compare Topic 19 with Topic 22, which was mentioned earlier regarding Sherry and Simona's father's present condition. It is interesting to note that even though the subject matter is about the same person, there was more Japanese used in Topic 22 (42.1%) compared with Topic 19 (14%). Perhaps the difference in language choice is not due to the subject matter, but with regards to what the topic is *about.* In the case of Topic 22, the conversation was very casual and light, with Simona and Sherry being using Japanese often to describe their father's physical characteristics. His current mental health was not mentioned. However, in Topic 19, as Simona and Sherry reflected on their father's past and struggles with depression, the conversation was primarily in English. It is possible that Simona and Sherry had not mastered the Japanese descriptive language needed to discuss this topic, and so switched to English, their

dominant language. Moreover, their use of English could also signify some emotional distance from a difficult topic.

Aside from the mostly Japanese and mostly English turns, there were turns in which similar amounts of Japanese and English utterances were produced. These were counted as "balanced turns", and appeared less frequently than the other two categories. In Table 6, Topic 27, 26, and 25 contained the most "balanced turns" of the topics in the transcription. It is interesting that although there were not many "balanced" turns, these focused more on topics of ethnicity and Japanese American identities than the other two categories did. For example, in Topic 27, the major part of the balanced turns was my response to Sherry's question if I was losing my Japanese. For the next 23 lines, I explained to Sherry that I was unable to produce my Japanese when it came to the formal form, which had become evident when I took the Japanese Language Proficiency Exam. During this turn, I used Japanese to describe how the Japanese LP Examiner was testing my Japanese. I oscillated between identities and languages as I re-enacted the speech of the Japanese LP Examiner and myself.

Although the frequency of "balanced turns" in the interaction was low, the mere presence of them with their focus on Japanese culture content is an indication of our attempt to solidify our mutual status as Japanese Americans for each other. This phenomenon may be similar to one in Nishimura's (1997) data, where she observed that her Nisei interlocutors produced many portmanteau sentences when speaking with their Nisei friends in order to solidify their identity as "Nisei".

As I recognized that there might be a possible pattern to the use of Japanese and English in our conversation, I categorized utterance topics into Gumperz' (1982) code-

switching categories of "objectified" and "personalized" topics. Table 7 is an example of the tables I created.

Table 7. Japanese and English statements from Topic 22 (lines 1221 through 1243)

	Objectified	Personalized
Japanese	• *ima ne... Mou honto ni*. (Right now…No really) • I- I – *tenuki shichaun dayone uchi.* (I don't put much effort into it)	• *ah chotto!* (Oh hey!) • *dame dayo*! (That's not good!) • *Dame da. Dame da* (Not good. Not good.)
English	• I mean John John cooks more than I do these days • I'm like. Oh – cuz I'm studying or like I have to • do projects and then I don't I- I'm the type that if I'm stressed I don't eat. And so then… • So I- I don't make food. and then he's like…I know! and so he makes something like really quick like *chaahan toka* or like you know some soup and. you know even if it's late at night he makes something. • ….but, yah. I'm learning, I'm learning. I'm trying to train myself to eat more but.	• I wish I learned more from my mom. • I feel bad sometimes. • So then he- he comes home, and then he's like, "uh, are-are you going to eat dinner?" N I'm like, "OH! *Gomen.* I-nlike I totally forgot." • So I'm like "I'm so sorry!" • I'm so bad. Bad wife…Yah. I know. I should've learned more from my mom.

This analysis indicates that Gumperz's "objectified" topic and "personalized" topic categories do not seem to correspond in my data with use of one language over another. The interlocutors and I used both Japanese and English alike to express the "objectified" AND the "personalized". This is unlike Gumperz (1987) which found that a bilingual clearly used one language for "personalized" utterances and another language for the "objectified". The situation is much less dichotomous in my data. If I had done a more

detailed syntactic analysis of code-switching, I might have found other patterns. But, at this level of analysis I used, I saw none.

Research Question Three: Can code-switching in reported speech be understood as "double-voicing", in Bakhtin's sense?

For this analysis, I focused on instances where the interlocutors and I were reporting the speech of others, and in the process, "double-voicing" in the Bakhtin (1981) sense, where "a discourse must be perceived as belonging to someone else" as the speaker takes on the identity of another (Broner and Tarone 2001: 365). As described in Data Analysis, there were two reported speech structures used for this purpose in the discourse: quotatives used to demark and frame reported speech, and zero quotatives with constructed discourse which involved taking on (and so speaking in) the roles of others. Code-switching into Japanese occurred in both reported speech structures; a switch to Japanese was used to frame and demark the words of others. The results in Table 8 show the roles that were taken up as Japanese was used in reported speech.

Table 8: Roles Taken Up in Reported Speech, Using Japanese

A) Role as a Child:

With quotatives

1. **Context: About basketball practice**

CV: you know. *Hashirujyan?* And it's like '*itteee!'*
(like we run?) (owieee!)

2. **Context: About playing with Sherry and Simona**

CV: you know. Like you guys would come with all these crazy ideas cool ideas and I'm like, 'Wow *tanoshii tanoshii!'*
(It's so much fun!)

3. **Context: Piano Practice**

SH: <inaudible> *asobitaino ni ne.*
(we just want to play)

CV: *SOOU! sousou*. it's like that sinking feeling like,'uuuuh…*yannai to piano'*
(I have to do piano practice)

4. **Context: Simona's fondest memories of Japanese school**

SI: your mom. <inaudible> *nandemo suggoi nanka obentou mottekuru ko to* versus like *nanka 'kyou wa sandouicchi da'*
(like today I have a sandwich)

With zero- quotatives

5. **Context: Sherry & Simona drawing on the walls**

SH: and then *suggoi tanoshi katta.*
(It was so much fun)

SI: Yaaah. *Mou iinokanaa.* And your mom. Yknow. Like she was pretty strict.
(Is this OK?)

6. **Context: Myself playing at Sherry and Simona's house**

CV: And you know and you hit the ducks like this. But, oh no '*kou yatte yanno, kou yatte yanno'*
(This is how you do it, this is how you do it)

7. **Context: Simona's fondest memories of Japanese school**

SI: *un. Minna ne (Yah, like everyone)*. we would look forward to it. And then *minna nan kyou no bentou wa nani?*
(What's everyone's lunch today?)

B) Role as Mother/Father:

With quotative

1. **Context: Piano practice**

SI: "I remember your mom was like '*konshuu wa zenzen hiite nai*'"
(You haven't played (the piano) at all this week)

2. **Context: Sherry's mom advising her about going to Japan for work**

SH: Whenever we go, it's always good times you know because you get to see the family. And they spoil you. And she's like '*soretowa*
(When you start working,
chigau karane hataraitara' ".
it's different than those times)

3. **Context: Caroline thinking about her mother**

CV: She even worries like, '*Karada motsukane, motsukane?'*
(Will my body last? Will it last?)

4. **Context: Simona describes her father's reaction to his mental health**

SI: Yah. Like. Not so serious or like heavy but like. or like heavy but like. *'Ahh, wakannai---.*
(I don't know)

With zero- quotatives

5. **Context: Piano practice**

SI: *oboetenai* ? Your mom like-
(do you remember)
CV: *oboeteru.* I hated it.
(I remember)
SI: *zenzen kiite nai yo*.
(I haven't heard you at all)
SH: (laugh) but she was like *kan ga sugoi* .Cuz *chotto machigattara* you
*(*senses were sharp) *(*made a small mistake)
could hear her say something from the kitchen.
SI: "*chigau yo*!" ("That's wrong!")
CV: "*mou ikkaai*!" ("One more time!")
SI: "*hora chigau yo*!"("Hey that's wrong!")

6. **Context: Myself describing my daughter**

CV: Because she loves bath time. So she's like. "*Ofuro." "Ofuro hairuyo."*
*(*Bathtub. We're going into the bathtub)

C) Role as a Japanese teacher

Context: Sherry remembering her favorite Japanese teacher

With quotatives

1. SH: *"Darekaga shabbete chanto me to mukatte kiki nasai" mitai na.*

(Like, when someone is talking to you, look at them in the eye and listen to them)

With zero- quotatives

2. CV: oh really? when did he get mad?

SH: *"Ah yappari minna ano oshaberi sugitari toka"*
(formal word: like everyone talked too much)
[….]

SH: He was like… yah. He wasn't like. Not just a teacher but like *nanda*. Teacher of life kinda thing….Like. *Kyoukasho dewa nai*
(formal word: I think he was a teacher who taught
mono o chanto oshiete kureta sensei kana
us things that were not in the textbook)
[…]

CV: *tatoeba. tatoeba*

SH: *uuuun. Nandaro (*what is it). Like *reigi toka (*like manners). *Chanto asa no aisatsu o shinkucha ikenai.*
(We must do our morning greetings)

CV: uun…*reigi!*..ahh.
(manners!)

D) Role as Japanese LP Examiner

Context: I describe my LPE examiner

1. *With quotatives*

CV: And like you know, right. 'Can you-*kore o setsumei shite*
*(*Can you please explain this)
kuremasuka' " Or you know. '*setsumei shitekudasai.'* But in the end
(Please explain this)
she's like, 'Uhm, *sore keigo ni natte masen*.' […]
(that's not in the honorific form)[…]
So I was like *"mou ikkai- mou shite- yatte kuremasuka?"*
(Can you please do it one more time?)

2. *With zero- quotatives*

CV: She was…asking me questions about '*kore wa nandesuka' "*
(What is this?)
[...] Right. "*Kore o keigo de hanashite"*
(Speak this in the honorific form)

E) Role as Older Sister/Caregiver

With zero- quotatives

1. **Context: I explain how I don't take care of myself**

CV: *ima ne*. I mean John John cooks more than I do these days. *Mou*
(these days)
honto ni.
(seriously)

SH: Ah *chotto!*
(Oh Hey!)

CV: I feel bad sometimes. I'm like. Oh – cuz I'm studying or like I have to do projects and then I don't I- I'm the type that if I'm stressed I don't eat. And so then…

SH: *Dame dayo*!
(That's not good!)

CV: I- I – *tenuki shichaun dayone uchi.* So I- I don't make food. [……]
(don't put much effort into it)

SH: (laugh) *dame dayo!*
(that's not good!)
[……]

CV: I'm so bad. Bad wife….but, yah. I'm learning […] *Dame da.*
(Not good.
Dame da.
Not good.)

2. **Context: I describe how I'm almost done with graduate school.**

CV: I am done with school for the rest of my life! I'm thirty. You know I gotta get outta here.

SH: *Mada mada wakai! Wakai!*
(You're still young! Very young!)

F) Role as Daughter to Mother

With zero- quotatives

1. **Context: I explain how my mother doesn't want to retire yet**

CV: She even worries like. *Karada motsukane, motsukane? Tte.*
(like, will my body hold? Will it hold?)
Motanai tte, mommy. I think…
(It won't last)

2. **Context: How I'm forgetting my Japanese**

SH: You could practice with your mom. *korekara keigo de tsukae ba*
(you can use your honorific form
iiyo.
from now on)

CV: *Dekinai yo!* Oh my gosh. That would be so awkward!
*(*I can't do that!) […] *"Okaasama!"*
(Mother!)

G) Other Roles

With quotatives

Role as a toddler

1. **Context: I describe my toddler's Japanese skills**

CV: "So she's like '*ofuro*!'…So it's like '*Ofuroo! Ofuroo!'*
(Bath time!) (Bath time! Bath time!)

Role as a train master

2. **Context: I remember a trip to Japan with Simona and Sherry**

CV: Didn't they say like, 'oh *kono bouya tachi sugoku iiko dene'*.
(Oh these boys were such good kids!)

With zero- quotatives

Role speaking to Someone Respected

3. **Context: I describe how I'm almost done with graduate school**

CV: Well, it's due- I need to finish writing everything and then we do something called the "defense" and so. I present it to my committee…[…]

SH: *Ganbatte kudasai*
(Formal form: Please do your best)

Role as a Fighter

4. **Context: I describe how I'm almost done with graduate school**

CV: …But I hope to get out and finally graduate this semester so….
Kiri wo tsukeruzo! Konoyaro!
(Very informal: I'm going to finish this once and for all!)

Role as Bank Accountant to Client

5. **Context: Simona describes when she uses her Japanese**

SI: I think it's like *mou* work *demo* I use it everyday.
(but)

CV: *Honto*? That's nice.
(Really?)

SI: *Daibu yoku natta kara ne*. [….]*"Wakarimasen!"*
(It's gotten better) (Formal form: I don't understand!)

Enacting Roles Using Japanese in Reported Speech

Examples A through H in Table 8 illustrate the different roles that the participants assumed in constructed dialogue in reported speech; certain people from our past were highlighted as Sherry, Simona, and I took on their role and spoke as if we were that person. A switch to Japanese was often used to highlight reported speech (the words of

different Japanese people that my interlocutors and I knew of). In reported speech, what Yule (1998) calls quotatives were often used. These were typically phrases using verbs such as "to say", "be like", "be all", "to go", and "be". These quotatives were used to introduce and frame reported utterances that conveyed a person's attitude, evaluation, feelings, and reactions (Yule 1998:286-288). When the reported speech was not a verbatim representation of past conversations, but "report[ed] thoughts or attitudes (that they and others may have had) in a form which looks as if they had given voice…to those thoughts and attitudes during the reported interaction," reported speech is referred to as constructed dialogue (Yule 1998:282-283); in such cases, zero-quotatives were often used.

In A. Role as a Child, in Examples A1 through A-5 we adopted a child-like register of Japanese to construct reenacted dialogue, sometimes with quotatives and sometimes without. Our use of the Japanese colloquial (informal) forms marked the childish identity being reconstructed. For example, when reenacting our childhood days, we used informal speech producing such utterances as these:

> Example A-3: *SOOU! sousou*. it's like that sinking feeling like,'uuuuh…*yannai to piano'*(I have to do piano practice)
> Example A-4: *"Mou iinokanaa"* (Is this OK?)
> Example A-5: "*kou yatte yanno, kou yatte yanno"* (This is how you do it, this is how you do it).

In Example A-3 and A-5, *yannai* and *yanno* are colloquial forms of the base verb, *yaru*, which means "to do". On the other hand, the formal form is *yaranai to* and *yarimasu,* respectively. Using the colloquial form for these utterances gave a more casual tone to the conversation and allowed us to become the "children" of our past as we delivered these roles in Japanese. These utterances were also produced in a higher intonation as

Bakhtin's notion of "double-voicing" might predict, as Simona, Sherry, and I spoke in our adult roles (one "voice"), but reenacted our roles as children in a second "voice".

In Examples B-1, B-2, and B-3 we alternately became our mothers as we described different situations. When we recalled how my mother used to keep us accountable in practicing piano, Simona says, "*konshuu wa zenzen hiite nai"* (You haven't played [the piano] at all this week) in a strict tone as she reproduced my mother's voice. In Example B-2, Sherry reconstructed her dialogue with her mother who advised her before she set out to Japan to work as an English teacher by saying, "'*soretowa chigau karane hataraitara'* "(When you start working, it's different than those times). As I heard Sherry recount her talk with her mother, I could almost hear her mom talking as Sherry played the part of her mother using a gentle, yet firm tone. Finally, in Example B-3, I recalled my own mother as we talked about my mother's hard-working spirit at her work place. I imitated my mother saying, "'*Karada motsukane, motsukane?'* (Will my body last? Will it last?), mimicking her constant concern over her body as she endured high volumes of stress at work. I spoke in a weak and frail voice as I conveyed my mother's worries over her own health. These reported Japanese speech segments carry in them more than just verbatim dialogue, but represent a construction of the attitudes and thoughts of the people being represented with different voices and especially the use of Japanese. Each dialogue was reconstructed *as if* the person had actually said it. The combination of the switch to Japanese from English, the tone of voice, and the use of the quotatives, "be like" and "like", all helped frame the reported speech in these examples.

I also used of the zero-quotative in Example B-6, where I took on the role of two people: my toddler (daughter) and myself as mother. In Example B-6, I said,

1482 CV: Because she loves bath time. So she's like. *Ofuro. "Ofuro hairuyo."*
1483 So it's like "*Ofuroo! Ofuroo!*"

In this short excerpt, I built my own interaction with myself and my daughter, saying the first, third, and fourth, *ofuro* ("bath time"), in a higher pitch than when I say *ofuro hairuyo* ("we're going into the bath"). This lower pitch, the use of Japanese (instead of English), and the commanding voice, are all cues which indirectly tell my listeners when it is I, the mother, and the higher pitch indicates when my daughter is speaking. Therefore, the "double-voicing" and the code-switch to Japanese clarify the roles being enacted with zero-quotatives, especially when there are multiple roles being played in one turn.

The teacher role was also enacted in our interaction using zero-quotatives. There was a segment in the interaction where Sherry described her favorite teacher at the Japanese school, Mr. Yonekawa (*Yonekawa sensei)*(Example C-1, C-2). Sherry used her Japanese to remind us what Mr. Yonekawa was like by speaking like him, and also reiterated some of the disciplines he taught her class. It's interesting to note that Sherry described Mr. Yonekawa in English, but she enacted him speaking about life qualities in Japanese. In doing the code-switch, she signaled to the speaker that she was representing Mr. Yonekawa and was speaking as if she was Mr. Yonekawa himself. In Example C-2, she gave examples of how Mr. Yonekawa taught his students about having manners (*reigi*), and then she spoke in his voice saying, "*Chanto asa no aisatsu o shinkucha ikenai"* (We should always do our morning greetings). Through taking on the role as Mr. Yonekawa in Japanese, not only is Sherry able to highlight the important life lessons she learned from Mr. Yonekawa, she momentarily transformed into Mr. Yonekawa and spoke as if she were him. Hence, Japanese was used to emphasize the qualities of Sherry's favorite

teacher, and also exemplified how deeply she had internalized Mr. Yonekawa as her role model and "teacher of life". The switch to Japanese also demarcated the frame of the reported speech, even in the absence of a quotative expression.

Sherry used the more formal form (*teineigo*) for some of her Japanese utterances in describing Mr. Yonekawa (Example C-2). Sherry said on two different occasions, "*Ah yappari minna ano* ***oshaberi*** *sugitari toka"* (Well, like everyone talks too much) and "*Kyoukasho* ***dewa nai*** *mono o chanto oshiete kureta sensei kana"* (I think he's a teacher who taught us things not in the textbook). I was surprised that she used the more formal word, *oshaberi*, rather than the casual form, *shabbettari,* since our conversation has been very casual up to this point. Sherry also used the formal negative form for the copula (*desu)*, *dewa nai*, instead of the casual form, *janai,* which had been used frequently elsewhere throughout our conversation. Here, Sherry took on the role of the teacher by using Japanese formal language, which captured the properness and formality of this Japanese teacher.

Some of the quotatives we produced in this interaction, interestingly, were in Japanese. In Example C-1, when Sherry quoted her Japanese school teacher, she added the words *mitai na* after she finished reporting his speech. The direct translation for *mitai na* is "like", and its function is related to Yule's quotative expression "like": it frames the reported speech conveying the teacher's attitude (direct, instructive, imperative) (Yule 1998:283). A second quotative expression that occurred in Japanese was *nanka* in Example A-4, where Simona sandwiched the Japanese *nanka* in between English "like" and the reported speech. This *nanka* is the colloquial form of the word, *nado* which functions as a "rough listing particle" (Kamermans 2005). *Nanka* is used for

approximation purposes, and is a quotative functioning similarly to Yule's "like" in that it introduces a constructed (not verbatim) dialogue.

The role of a Japanese LP Examiner was also represented by our use of more formal Japanese forms (*-masuka, -kudasai, -masen)*. In this segment we used "you know" as another type of English quotative besides those that Yule (1998) mentioned. In Example D-1, I produced two instances where I framed the Japanese reported speech with "you know":

Example D-1:

> "and like you know, right. 'Can you- *kore o setsumei shite kuremasuka'*
> (can you please explain this)
> "or you know- '*setsumei shitekudasai' "*
> (please explain this)

The function of "you know" is similar to that of "be like", where it introduces another speaker – in this case, the Japanese LPE oral interviewer. Comparing these segments with the quotatives "be like" and "like", I would argue that "you know" is also a quotative, because it functions in the same way by introducing constructed dialogue to the listener.

Our construction of dialogue representing the Japanese role of the "older sister" was created mostly with a zero-quotative as the interlocutor spoke as if she were the older sister. In Example E-1, Sherry, who was responding to how I do not take care of myself when I get stressed and occupied with graduate work, produced the Japanese utterances (*Ah chotto!, Dame dayo!)*. Her voice was very stern and firm, like that of an older sister to a younger sister. At first glance, these seem to be simple objections to my lack of care and discipline. However, why didn't Sherry use English here to express herself? Why in Japanese? By speaking in Japanese, Sherry was taking on a culture-specific Japanese role

of older sister in relation to me (Sherry is three years older than I). Sherry was giving me corrections and commenting that what I was doing is not good, in the way an older sister might, even though we're not blood-related.

In using zero-quotatives in such cases, one of the problems for the addressee is to distinguish who is being quoted since the quotative frame of "*he said*" or "*she's like*" is missing (Yule 1998: 286). However, for the zero-quotative reported speech occurring in our interaction, the code-switch to Japanese was very useful in establishing the identities and roles being enacted in the speaker's dialogue, especially when formal and informal Japanese markers were used. The level of formality used in the Japanese within the interaction added clues to the identity being recreated.

At times, particular tones in the voice and phrases were also carried over from our understanding of Japanese culture as we dramatized an event in order to demarcate the identity being role-played or dialogue being recreated. For example, in Table 8 (G-3), towards the end of our conversation, I explained to Sherry that I was almost finished with my graduate program. Sherry responded with words of encouragement:

Example G-3:

1506 CV: Well, it's due- I need to finish writing everything and then we do something
1507 called the "defense" and so. I present it to my committee…

[…]

1514 SH: <u>*Ganbatte kudasai.*</u> (Please do your best)

It is interesting to note that Sherry chose to use Japanese for her words of encouragement. The word, *ganbatte*, has multiple layers in its meaning. The closest equivalent to English is "do your best" or "good luck", but it is also a display of support from the speaker as he/she acknowledges the work you are doing. Therefore, Sherry most likely chose to use the Japanese term to best capture her concerns and support for my graduate work.

Furthermore, her use of the formal form (*kudasai*) adds another layer of seriousness about the subject matter being encouraged as Sherry recognizes my graduate work is no casual business. By using her Japanese, Sherry became my utmost "supporter". Hence, the "double-voice" did more than liven up or stylize the dialogue (Nishimura 1997); it also made the reported speech more personal as the speaker added a supporter's voice to create constructed dialogue (Yule 1998, Bakhtin 1981).

A final question remains: How did the three of us all come to have internalized these cultural voices? How did we acquire them? An example in the data may illustrate that process of internalization, or acquisition. My response in E-1, to Sherry's use of the Japanese phrases, "*Dame dayo!"* (line 436) and *"Ah, chotto"* (line 429) illustrates the way we have probably all acquired these voices in the first place. The following is the transcription of a larger portion of that part of the interaction:

Example 17	Turn #	Line #	Text
		428	CV: *ima ne*. I mean John John cooks more than I do these days. *Mou honto* (these days) (really) *ni*.
		429	SH: *ah chotto!* (oh hey!)
		430	CV: I feel bad sometimes. I'm like. Oh – cuz I'm studying or like I have to
		431	do projects and then I don't I- I'm the type that if I'm stressed I don't
		432	eat. And so then…
		433	SH : *dame dayo*! (that's not good!)
		434	CV: I- I – *tenuki shichaun dayone uchi.* So I- I don't make food. So then (I don't put in much effort) he-
		435	he comes home, and then he's like, "uh, are-are you going to eat dinner?"
		436	(laugh). N I'm like, "OH! *Gomen.* I- n like I totally forgot."= (sorry)
		437	SH: (laugh) *dame dayo!* (that's not good!)
		438	CV: = and then he's like…I know! and so he makes something like really

		439	quick like *chaahan toka* or like you know some soup and. You (like fried rice) know
		440	even if it's late at night he makes something. So I'm like "I'm so sorry!"
		441	SH: (laugh)
		442	CV: I'm so bad. Bad wife….but, yah. I'm learning I'm learning. I'm trying to
		443	train myself to eat more but. Yah. I know. I should've learned more
		444	from my mom.
		445	SH/SI: (laugh)
		446	CV: *Dame da. Dame da.* (laugh) (that's not good. that's not good.)

After Sherry lightly reprimanded me with these Japanese phrases, I repeated what she said in line 446 ("*Dame da. Dame da.")* to myself. In doing this, I think I was internalizing Sherry's voice of "older sister". This self-directed language isn't simply a repetition of words that I had just heard; it is "private speech" to try to gain control over a problematic situation (Vygotsky 1986). According to Vygotsky, "private speech" is that which we vocally say to ourselves as we complete a difficult task, and usually has its social origins in the speech of others. Lantolf (2000:15) also explains "private speech" as voices acquired from interactions with others, and internalizing them with private speech, which includes asking ourselves questions, answering these questions, telling ourselves we're wrong, or that we cannot do something. As I made suggestions to myself in line 443 about "trying to train myself to eat more" and noted that I had failed to learn more from my mother (and hence, was a "bad wife"), I vocally told myself that these qualities were "not good" ("*dame da"*). The code-switch to Japanese marked this "private speech". I was trying to internalize the Japanese older sister's "voice" to regulate myself within the conflict that I have come to recognize in my life between my role as a graduate student and my role as wife and mother.

DISCUSSION:

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate and make sense of the use of Japanese in an interaction that I had with my Japanese American friends. The data was analyzed in terms of three varieties (mostly Japanese, mostly English or balanced); topic (objectified versus the personalized); and double voicing in reported speech.

The results suggest that the variety we spoke in was the mostly English variety. After analyzing the data in Tables 2 through 5, it became apparent that there was no clear relationship between topic and Japanese language use. I was expecting that the mostly Japanese variety would line up more with culturally Japanese topics, but this was not the case as I realized that Japanese *wasn't* used in many cases where the topic was "personalized" (i.e., speaking about Sherry and Simona's father, Sherry's experiences in Japan, etc).

I then turned my attention to the many instances in which Japanese people were being quoted from the past or that we were using Japanese to reenact certain types of people that we knew of. Similar instances have been noted in the code-switching literature, as we have seen. Gumperz (1982) described the quotation marking function of code-switching, and Nishimura described the way Geoff's code-switching (see p. 13) added a stylistic effect to the overall dialogue, marking the quotation, and also making the speech more vivid (1997:154). In my view, quotations like those Nishimura cites display how the speaker has internalized and is reconstructing the voice of the person being quoted. I turned to sociocultural analysis and Bakhtin's (1981) theory of double voicing to describe similar instances of Japanese used in reported speech in our

conversation. It became apparent that the code-switch to Japanese was being used to mark attitudes, dramatization, and roles in the dialogue (Bakhtin (1981), Yule (1998)). These were often preceded by quotative verbs, but some were able to stand on their own with zero-quotatives (Yule 1998).

In my data, this double voicing was most salient in the reported speech that had no quotatives preceding it (zero-quotatives). In such cases, we reenacted these roles in Japanese (instead of English) as we responded to various cases that were brought up in our conversation. My interlocutors and I took on different roles as we spoke in Japanese. Sometimes these roles were made livelier as we preferred to use varying degrees of formality. For example, these roles might use the Japanese formal form (*teineigo*) as we became the "teacher" or an "LP examiner". The informal and colloquial form was used for our roles as "child" and "mother". As we constructed dialogue in Japanese, the code-switch from English to Japanese marked the thoughts, attitudes, and various roles of Japanese people as we constructed them (and as theorized by Bakhtin (1998)).

The process of internalizing, or acquiring, the voice of the other can be seen in the data in an example of private speech I produced in Example 17. In this example, I unconsciously repeated what I just heard from Sherry (*dame da, dame da*); such unconscious repetition is termed private speech in sociocultural terms, and is part of the process of internalization or acquisition, where a term is heard in interaction, then is used in private speech, then in inner speech, which can be used for self-regulation in carrying out difficult activities. I repeated Sherry's phrase in order to regulate myself, and internalize the Japanese values being expressed, as I thought about how to navigate my

life as a graduate student and wife. In a way, I was telling myself what not to do – not to skip meals, not to forget to cook for my husband, etc.

In examples such as these, I find that my research and analysis has given me a clearer understanding of the function and reasons for the code-switching that occurs so frequently throughout my conversations with my Japanese American friends and family. Ultimately, our code-switching – particularly that which highlights important voices embodying Japanese values from our background – becomes that social glue that continues to unite me with my Japanese American friends and family, something that is hard for anyone else outside of this particular community to recreate.

At times, our ability to code-switch also brings us closer to people in our wider Japanese-American community who do not necessarily share our personal history with its long relationship -- for example, people like our clientele or co-workers. In the words of Simona,

> "I really feel a closer connection to my Issei clients in terms of relating and understanding their struggles to create a life here from scratch for their families and the constant struggle communicating and language barrier. I see many characteristics of them in my own parents and friends' parents…They are definitely more at ease when I use Japanese with them (even though my Japanese is not flawless, they give me the benefit of the doubt and 'kansya' (*give thanks*) for trying my best to communicate with them knowing that English is really my first language."(italics added) [4.14.2013. E-mail correspondence]

The relationship between Simona and her first generation Japanese (Issei) clients is mutual as they empathize with and appreciate one another. Simona is able to have empathy with her client's struggles in speaking English as a second language and possibly hears echoes of the voice of her parents as her clients recount how they've been building a life from scratch in America, just as her parents did thirty-five years ago. Furthermore, the Issei clients receive Simona into their in-group even though she isn't as

fluent in Japanese as they are. They are simply grateful that Simona is trying her best to communicate, even though "(her) Japanese is not flawless". This follows with the research cited in Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian's (1982), who observed that language choice could signal ethnic identity and also create solidarity among people (despite lack of fluency). In Simona's experience with her clients, the mutual level of closeness was developed primarily in her effort to speak in Japanese and also the client's acceptance of her efforts to speak in this minority language (Giles 1979).

There were some limitations to this study. Due to low-grade audio-recording technology, there were portions in the interview that were inaudible on Simona and Sherry's side of the recording. This did not happen frequently, but occurred at moments when there was overlap in the conversation. To avoid this pitfall, I had initially asked Simona and Sherry to use "Garage Band" to record our conversation from their computer. However, Simona and Sherry were unable to retrieve the file, and I had to conduct my transcription and data anlysis with the inaudible sections.

Another limitation of this study is the lack of syntactic analysis of the code-switched material of the sort Nishimura (1997) did. Analyzing my data set from a more syntactic angle might have revealed more consistency and precision, especially in identifying the functions of Japanese nouns, adjectives, conjunctions, and other grammatical structures.

Besides a few follow-up questions regarding the interview, I did not ask more detailed questions regarding the reasons why Sherry and Simona produced certain portions of their dialogue in Japanese (compared to English). Simona gave me a detailed answer regarding how she relates to her Japanese American identity through her bank

clients, but I was unable to clarify in the interview the reasons for her Japanese-English code-switching in our transcribed interaction. I was very interested to know why Simona and Sherry had chosen to talk about their father's mental illness in English instead of Japanese, but I was unable to do so.

This descriptive study has some implications for teaching and for future research. In the research regarding heritage language learners (HLL) and pedagogy, I found that there was a fair amount of research drawn from observations and analysis done on the HLL learner's output and cognitive development in the classroom (Jensen 2007, Oguro 2012, Uys and van Dulm 2011). From the results reported here, I would like to propose that the realm of role playing and constructed dialogue be used more often as a medium for language learning, especially among HLL's. I suggest this from my observations through my one hour conversation and as an HLL myself that in constructing dialogue, one's creativity, humor, and drama can come together to produce the L2 in dynamic ways. This gains strength as HLL's dialogue together amongst their peers – sharing common interests, hobbies, and past times with one another. Although my data was not gathered in a classroom setting, it can be said that the L2 is produced more naturally and comfortably in non-academic themes and settings. Allowing HLL students to create a "stage" for themselves in this way could promote more output of the L2 in the classroom whether it be through a video outside of class or in an interview conducted among peers.

CONCLUSION:

This descriptive study found that the function of Japanese within our Japanese American discourse could not be adequately described by a quantitative analysis of the number of Japanese, English, or balanced turns, or by any correspondence with "objectified" and "personalized" topics. Rather, a sociocultural analysis using some of Bakhtin's constructs allowed me to interpret important cognitive functions within my interlocutors and myself in the use of Japanese in double voicing, as well as identify an instance of the internalization of such a voice through private speech. Code-switches to the Japanese language during reported speech were used to signal to one another the Japanese cultural roles that were indirectly and directly being represented. Quotatives assisted in explicitly framing the reported speech. But in the absence of a quotative, the code-switch to Japanese accompanied by nonverbal cues in each turn, and our background knowledge of Japanese culture still allowed us to communicate and understand the roles that were being taken up by the speaker. Such Japanese code-switches in representing valued Japanese social roles allowed us to affirm those common ethnic values, and added vibrancy and drama to the interaction that English sometimes could not capture or provide. Finally, the study participants stated in interviews that they felt that using Japanese in mostly English conversations in their daily lives drew them closer to their Nisei friends and clients. Although our Japanese is our less dominant language and not as good as our English, the fact that we share this common language bonds us closer to each other within the Nisei "in group", as well as with the Issei "in group".

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